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Friday June 26 1998

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# The Guardian INTERNATIONAL

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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR


The unique sports magazine

## Sport98

**Moment of truth: David Lacey on England's chances of survival**

Incorporating today's television, radio and European weather



Decca Aitkenhead

## The curse of inclusivity

Comment, page 16

# Clinton flies in to storm as Chinese lay out red carpet

John Gittings in Xian

BILL CLINTON last night walked into a storm over China's treatment of dissidents as he began a historic nine-day visit, the first by a United States president since the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989.

White House officials were compelled to express concern at fresh reports of Chinese harrassment of dissidents only days before Mr Clinton himself arrives in Tiananmen Square, for an official greeting ceremony.

Stepping off a long red carpet before the south gate to the northern city of Xian, the first stop on the tour, Mr Clinton invoked his stock image of a common Sino-American endeavour for the 21st century. He said commitment to human dignity and freedom was as "vital to the strength and success" of China as it was to America.

He praised the Chinese for their hard work, but proposed a new task of striving for individual freedom. He said both countries must do all they could to "build a more just society" and "include all people with all their differences".

As for the critics, Mr Clinton said: "There may be those here and back in America who wonder whether closer ties and deeper friendship between China and America are good. Clearly, the answer is yes. We have a powerful ability to help each other grow."

The balance between ceremony and coded message was fine, even though Bill and Hillary Clinton seemed wide-eyed at the ceremonial sights before them. Lanterns glowed and swallows swooped in a mild evening air surprisingly free from pollution.

There were drums, dancers and costumed soldiers. But no amount of ritual could banish the human rights issue to which he made several coded references in his speech. Even while he was flying over the Pacific, more dissidents had been harassed in the Xian area and elsewhere in China.

"We're very concerned that some dissidents may have been detained or otherwise disrupted," said Mike McCurry, the state department spokesman, adding that the US ambassador to China, James Sasser, had "registered our concerns".

In Xian, President Clinton expressed his confidence that a new day was dawning for China, but linked this to "respect for the worth, the dignity, the potential, and the freedom of every citizen". He said this was vital to America's strength and would also form the cornerstone of the "new China".

He spoke of a common commitment to provide all human beings "with the opportunity to develop their full potential". "Potential" can be seen as a codeword for human rights and individual liberty.

China has disdained to reply to US critics of its human rights policies, preferring to dwell on the general benefit, particularly with regard to trade, of a new relationship between the US and China.

The Xian leg of the Clintons' visit is mostly tourism. It was hoped that a pleasantly non-controversial picture could be presented to the American people through network coverage before the president reaches Beijing — and Tiananmen Square — on Saturday.

But things have not begun quite so smoothly.

Even during his flight from the US, Mr Clinton felt obliged during a stop-over in Alaska to say something more on human rights.

Again he justified a policy of "constructive engagement" with Beijing. "We shall deal respectfully but directly," he promised, arguing that this was "more effective than to push them [the Chinese] into a corner".

> 'There may be those who wonder whether closer ties with China are good. Clearly, the answer is yes'
> **Bill Clinton**



With lanterns in the foreground, Bill Clinton addresses the crowd PHOTOGRAPH: GARY HERSHORN

Mr and Mrs Clinton were followed into the south gate by an inordinately large party of administration officials and White House hangers on, some of whom were busily taking pictures while the ceremony was in progress.

A crowd of ordinary Chinese waited patiently on the city side of the gate, full of warmth for a man whom several described as "good fun".

"I've been waiting for five hours and my belly's aching," said one bystander cheerfully. "I don't mind at all."

Many had waited for hours because they had no way of telling when the president would arrive. The local press said simply that it would happen sometime yesterday: the timing was regarded as secret.

The crowds edged forward only to be pushed back by the police, like a moulded jelly. But they remained good-humoured to the end, cheering every black limousine.

Mr Clinton looked ahead rather rigidly, but the crowds were rewarded with a wave from his wife.

Then many went straight to the local McDonald's for a late-night snack.

Clinton visit, pages 10–11; John Gray, page 16; Leader comment, page 17

# Drink-free zone to curb fans

## Town braced for English onslaught

John Duncan and Jon Henley in Lens

A 40-MILE corridor of northern France is today being turned into an unprecedented alcohol-free zone in the hope of avoiding a repeat of the violence caused by English and German football hooligans in the past two weeks.

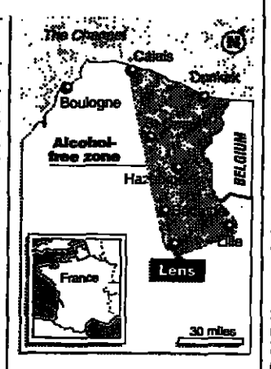
Hundreds of riot police have been drafted into Lens in advance of tonight's vital match between England and Colombia, which will determine whether England remain in the World Cup.

The ban on the sale and consumption of alcohol in the bars and streets of the town was yesterday extended to cover hypermarkets and the hugely popular cash-and-carries at French ports, which were ordered to stop selling drink from 8am. The alcohol ban applies to bars along a coastal swathe, from Dunkirk and Calais, all the way to Lens. Establishments in Lens face being shut down for eight days if they serve alcohol between 8am today and 8am tomorrow.

The small industrial town is battening down the hatches in the hope of averting a repeat of the violence which has blighted the first fortnight of the tournament.

A French policeman remains critically ill on a life support machine after German hooligans fought pitched battles in the town last weekend. Before then, English hooligans had caused mayhem in Marseille.

The security measures form an extraordinary backcloth to tonight's match, one of the most crucial in England's recent history. Glenn Hoddle's team must at least draw with Colombia to progress to the next round.




The ban in Calais is intended to prevent English supporters arriving in Lens drunk, or from bringing large quantities of alcohol with them. Six English fans were refused entry at the port yesterday because they were carrying excessive amounts of alcohol.

Duty-free outlets on cross-channel ferries — 10 of which will be arriving in Calais bearing an estimated 18,000 England fans today — will be closed for the same 24-hour period, according to the French authorities.

The alcohol ban in the Calais corridor remains flexible and may be extended, said Gordon Williams, the British consul-general in Lille. The city banned takeaway sales of alcohol from 10pm last night and discussions were continuing on whether to extend the ban to all bars and cafes.

The unprecedented ban has angered some French bar owners and supermarket managers, who say it will cost them tens of thousands of pounds. Dave West, who has run the EastEnders bar for 10 years, said: "This is the worst decision the French have made since Napoleon invaded Russia. Any fans who want to get booze can get it outside of Calais. This measure penalises the legitimate shoppers. It is them who will be hit most. This ban is not going to achieve anything."

He has a warehouse which sells 24 bottles of beer for £3.50, and he is considering legal action over losses which he estimates at tens of thousands of pounds.

The French authorities fear some German supporters could be heading for Lens to fight English fans. German border guards stopped 4,000 cars and turned back football supporters they considered suspicious in advance of Germany's match last night with Iran.

Residents of Lens are worried that if the town closes down completely for the day, bored fans may simply attack empty shops.

"Some things should be left open," said a bar owner near the station. "They have to have something to do here or they'll go wild. Besides, I don't think we should show them we're afraid."

Nowhere were such fears better reflected than in the town's primary schools, few of which expected their pupils to risk the journey to school today.

One teacher asked her class of 28 nine-year-olds who would be attending. "The answer was three," she said. "It's really a shame. Their parents are simply too afraid to let them on the street."

There is nowhere for the estimated 20,000 fans to go after the match, except home. That may prove impossible for those who travel to Lille on the Eurostar — 13 trains are due to arrive today but none is scheduled to return to England after the match.

Those who travelled by car will be able to return to England either on Le Shuttle or on ferries running through the night. Buses and trains will run all night to Calais.

World Cup Diary, page 6; Sport98, pages 2–7

# Ulster voters express resolve in face of bomb

## Polls point to voting across sectarian divide as public backs Good Friday agreement

John Mullin
Ireland Correspondent

JOANNE O'Malley, her jaw grimly set, marched the half-mile up the hill to Newtonhamilton high school. She had just come from her home in the village square, a scene of devastation. The roof was wrecked, ceilings were down and windows shattered. But she was determined to deliver her own message to the republican dissidents who had brought terror back to South Armagh.

Northern Ireland was back at the polls yesterday. Voters were selecting the new 108-seat assembly, one of the key elements of the Good Friday agreement that was resoundingly backed in a referendum last month. It was their fifth visit to the polling booths in two years.

Mrs O'Malley, aged 76, can remember each of the 27 bombs that have devastated the village in the past three decades. The previous attack, she recalled, was on August 10 1994, just three weeks before the IRA called its first ceasefire. One of the IRA's first bombings during the Troubles was here.

The silver Opel Omega carrying Wednesday's 200lb eve-of-poll device was parked in the same spot as that car bomb back in 1970.

This time, however, the finger was pointing at the Irish National Liberation Army. A caller claiming to represent the INLA, which is opposed to the IRA's ceasefire, said it had planted the bomb. But it has little recent history of using car bombs.

Security forces suspect a link-up with the other two groups against the IRA ceasefire and the Good Friday agreement, which maps out the framework of government for Northern Ireland. Both the Continuity IRA and the so-called True IRA, under the command of the IRA's former quartermaster general, regularly try to mount car bombs attacks.

Wednesday's device wrecked the Vallendale Hotel, a favourite watering hole. Like the bank next door, it will have to be demolished.

Loss adjusters sifted through the wreckage yesterday. The village had recently won some European money and had just had a facelift. Early estimates put the cost of the damage at £3 million.

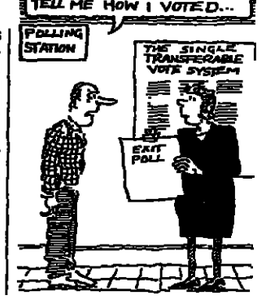
The community centre was among the buildings damaged. It was to have been yesterday's polling station, but that was quickly switched to the school, a good hike from the village.

Mrs O'Malley, who has eight children and 16 grandchildren, stayed with friends after the blast. She had been told her home was unsafe and was off to her sister's place in Co Meath after voting.

"It made me more determined than ever to vote. They are yesterday's men, and what they did to this place was a desperate last act. This is a lovely wee place. We beat

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Docklands bomb trial, page 5





inside

Britain
An IRA man who transported the Docklands bomb was jailed for 25 years, while the Attorney General is considering prosecuting the Sun for contempt.
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World News
Sami Ushtaka, commander-in-chief of the Kosovo Liberation Army, claimed talks with Richard Holbrooke, America's envoy, would be shortlived, were a political failure.
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Should the public have faith in the Police Complaints Authority — and does it provide a raw deal for the officers it investigates?
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"Football today would certainly not be the same if it had never existed." ELTON WELSBY

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The Guardian Thursday June

Week of woe on all fronts for former lan of champion

Frank Keating

Guardian Crossword No 21

**Sketch**

# No balls left after bouncer hits box



Simon Hoggart

WHAT a relief! It was just a lover's tiff. All of us sometimes say things to the people we love that we later regret, and I'm sure the Sun's angry outburst against Tony Blair ("Is this the most dangerous man in Britain?") was just one of those.

Of course, Rupert didn't really mean it. And just to prove they were all kissy-kissy again, Tony yesterday had a peace offering, a metaphorical bunch of nice smelly lilies. We learned in the Commons yesterday that the Government is going to let Rupert take Test matches off regular TV and put it on to his own private channel.

What a heart-warming gesture of reconciliation!

Of course, it wasn't put like that to MPs. Test matches will merely be removed from the A-list of events that must go out on BBC, ITV, Channel 4 or Channel 5. They will be switched instead to the B-list, which promises — and I quote the Culture Secretary, Chris Smith, yesterday — "good quality access to secondary coverage . . . a minimum acceptable standard of secondary coverage . . . a combination of delayed coverage, highlights and radio commentary."

How romantic such words sound! All those cricket fans around the country, sitting down to an exciting five days of access to secondary coverage, delayed full coverage and highlights. What a treat they have in store.

Nor is it certain that it will be Mr Murdoch who obtains the Test matches for BSkyB. ITV and the BBC are welcome to bid. So, no doubt, are you and I. But we all know that Murdoch will get it. That's the point. That's why Mr Smith has made his choice. If you want to watch Test cricket in future, you'll have to fork out around £36 a month. If you can't afford that, tough luck.

The Government has, to be fair, put the football World Cup and European championships on to the A-list. Plus the Rugby League Cup final, which is, we are told, of some interest to people in Wigan.

But Test matches are not just commercial events. They are woven into our national life. They have their own insidious rhythm. Airline pilots still announce the scores on delayed flights from Heathrow. Small boys are given the job of scrawling them on blackboards at village fetes. Test Match Special is the background murmur for hundreds of thousands of people, at work, at home, or sitting in the garden.

When I was young I would dash home from school to catch the last hour and a half on television before stumps were drawn. In those days of flickering bakelite sets, with no more than four shades of pale grey to distinguish the players from the pitch, people would draw the curtains on hot Saturdays so as to catch every ball.

The whole and entire point was to watch it as it happened. "Secondary delayed coverage," in Mr Smith's charming phrase, might do for people who want to catch up with Wimbledon after their day's work, but is as dreary as a three-day-old newspaper for a real cricket fan.

And there are many. As John Grogan, the Labour MP for Selby, pointed out yesterday, half of the pensioners in Britain watch Test match cricket for at least some of the time. They could always cut back on heating and food, so as to afford Mr Murdoch's charges.

And the BBC could cut back on drama and comedy in order to outbid Mr Murdoch. But whatever decision they take, we will all be the losers.

Mrs Thatcher was outraged that people should get anything for nothing, whether it was education, good health, or sport on TV. She wanted a two-tier country in which people with money could buy the best, and the rest could go hang. Now this Government is following her lead. The well-to-do can go on watching Test matches, and everyone else can settle for "the minimal acceptable standard for secondary coverage."

**Review**

# Open mind on a fatal attraction

Michael Billington

**How I Learned To Drive**
Donmar Warehouse

PAEDOPHILIA is a hot topic. But despite expressions of outrage from Family and Youth Concern, there is nothing corrupting or dangerous about Paula Vogel's prize-winning New York play. It is a perfectly decent, responsible work about the nature of erotic obsession. Its failings are aesthetic rather than moral.

Vogel's prime virtue is her refusal to turn the paedophile into a melodramatic monster. He is a suburban Maryland ex-marine known as Uncle Peck who suffers from a fixation with his prematurely developed niece, Li'l Bit.

In a series of short, pungent scenes covering a seven-year period, we see how Uncle Peck uses driving lessons as a form of courtship, how he exploits his niece's burgeoning sexuality in a private photo-shoot and how he is driven to distraction, and Li'l Bit to the bottle, when she finally goes away to college.

Nothing in the play will surprise anyone who has read Lolita. Like Nabokov, Vogel suggests that the paedophile's obsession is rooted in his own disturbed childhood and that he is a doomed figure in that, while he is locked into middle-age, the object of his affection rapidly grows up.

But what I suspect really offends the moralists is that Vogel, like Nabokov, steadfastly refuses to buy the myth of childhood innocence: Li'l Bit, even after her uncle's first advance, knowingly uses her sexuality as a form of power.

Vogel shows how both characters are damaged by the experience. But she also honestly depicts the affinity between them. And, in John Crowley's production, the scenes between Helen McCrory's Li'l Bit and Kevin Whately's Uncle Peck are both touching and erotically tense. McCrory has the harder task in that she has to convey both the insecurity and teasing provocation of teenhood, which she does marvellously, but Whately also suggests well the helplessness of a man with a fire in his heart he cannot quench.

The burning reality of their encounters only serves to heighten the clumsy cartoon quality of the surrounding family scenes.

Southern men are depicted as rampaging bulls governed by two instincts ("Mr Gut and Mr Peter") and women as suppressed victims taught from birth to equate sex with suffering.

Three actors play all the parts with great gusto but the only moment of real truth comes when Jenny Galloway, as Uncle Peck's wife, admits she knows of his obsession and longs for it to end.

Not, then, a perfect play but one that makes nonsense of the argument, advanced by one protest group, that "any presentation of paedophilia is damaging".

What Vogel does, with great integrity, is to suggest that paedophilia is a cyclical affliction, that those who suffer this "vicious mole of nature" may lead otherwise blameless lives and that total childhood innocence is a 19th-century fiction.

She approaches the subject with an inquiring rather than a closed mind, and for that she is to be applauded.

*This review appeared in later editions yesterday.*

Foreign Secretary faces cross-party condemnation for withholding information on arms-to-Africa

# MPs turn wrath on Cook

**Richard Norton-Taylor and Ian Black**

ROBIN Cook and his senior officials were facing a new crisis last night after a Labour-dominated Commons committee condemned their refusal to disclose information about the arms-to-Africa affair, provoking a constitutional row over the rights of backbench MPs.

The Commons foreign affairs committee insisted in a report that it was "wrong in principle" for the executive to "seek unilaterally to impose prior conditions on the release of information properly sought".

MPs on the now openly divided committee are furious about their treatment at the hands of Mr Cook, the Foreign Secretary, and Sir John Kerr, the Foreign Office's senior diplomat, who has refused to answer questions.

They want to know what ministers and officials knew about the involvement of Sandline, the private security company, in a counter-coup in Sierra Leone this year. Sandline was accused of breaching a United Nations arms embargo, but a Customs investigation concluded it would be "unfair" to prosecute the company.

The MPs accused Mr Cook of hiding behind an internal government inquiry into the affair being conducted by Sir Thomas Legg, a former permanent secretary at the Lord Chancellor's Department. "That precedent could be used by any minister in future to set up an inquiry and put up a barrier against the release of information to MPs," Labour's Donald Anderson, the committee chairman, said.

Andrew Mackinlay and his fellow Labour MP, Ted Rowlands, joined Tory members in outvoting Labour loyalists on the committee and demanded that the issue be put to the Commons.

Labour whips would ensure that a Commons motion directed at Mr Cook — for example, to reduce his salary — would fail. Committee members of all parties made it clear, however, that this would not disguise their anger at the FO.

Mr Cook has offered the committee a summary of the documents made available to Sir Thomas but only after the inquiry is completed. A committee member said last night: "The question is, do ministers trust us, or not, to keep information confidential if its disicosure would prejudice Legg or any FO disciplinary proceedings."

The committee broke up in disarray this week after Sir John Stanley, a Tory member, was prevented by Labour's Ernie Ross from putting questions to Sir John Kerr about what military intelligence knew about the counter-coup.

The Tory MP made it clear yesterday that he intended to persist with questions aimed at finding out "whether there was not one Sierra Leone British government policy but whether there were two".

Sir John said the gagging tactic raised "a constitutional issue of the most profound importance" — whether opposition members of committees had the right to put questions freely. "It lights a blowtorch under the integrity of the entire select committee system," he said.

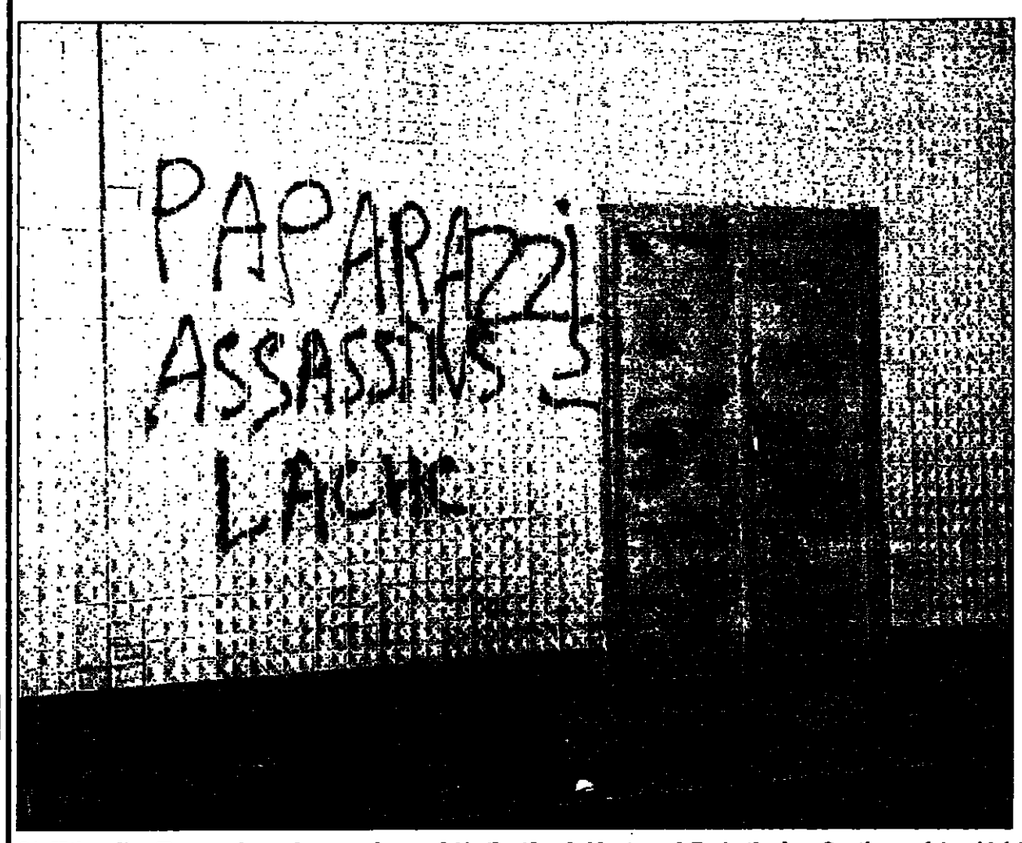
David Heath, the Liberal Democrat committee member, said: "This is no longer primarily a matter about Sierra Leone . . . it is about the conduct of government [and] the accountability of ministers."

But Mr Ross remained defiant, insisting that the committee had other things to get on with and claiming that some committee members were in an "obsessional loop" on the issue.

Mr Cook insisted later that he had offered the committee wider access to more official papers than any previous government. "It is over the top to make an issue of principle out of a few weeks' waiting time," he said. He has asked Sir Thomas to complete his inquiry as quickly as possible.

Sir Thomas is expected to vindicate Mr Cook's position but to point the finger at Britain's high commissioner in Sierra Leone, Peter Penfold. The inquiry is also likely to lead to the reshuffle of Tony Lloyd, FO minister responsible for Africa.

"Her eyes were open and she moved. When she saw Dodi was dead, I think she said 'My God'. She must have felt pain"






Graffiti reading 'Paparazzi, murderers and cowards' in the Alma bridge tunnel, Paris, the day after the crash in which Princess Diana, right, died

## French journalists cast new light on the final few hours of Princess Diana after crash

**Paul Webster in Paris**

DIANA, Princess of Wales was conscious after the fatal crash in Paris last August and aware that Dodi Al Fayed was lying dead beside her in the car, according to new accounts of her last four hours published yesterday.

The accounts include details of the desperate attempts by doctors to save her life when it was discovered that she was dying from an internal haemorrhage, although she suffered only one visible injury — a cut on her forehead.

According to a new book, when the emergency services arrived they gave priority to helping her bodyguard, Trevor Rees-Jones, who appeared to be more seriously injured.

Police, ambulancemen and doctors implicitly contradicted claims by Mohamed Al Fayed, Dodi's father, that Diana was able to talk when she reached hospital more than 1½ hours after her chauffeur-driven Mercedes ran into a pillar in the tunnel under the Pont Alma as she was driven from the Ritz Hotel on August 31.

Details of Diana's last hours were compiled by two journalists from the magazine L'Express, Jean-Marie Pontaut and Jerome Dupuis, for a book published by Stock. They clarify many of the obscure and misleading points surrounding the crash as well as providing medical details that have been kept quiet because there has been no public inquest.

Apart from confirming that photographers pursuing the car on motorcycles were the first on the scene and were involved in scuffles with the police and public while they took pictures, the book gives verbatim accounts from eyewitnesses.

Among them was a passing pedestrian, who was the first to open the car door and see the princess lying on the floor and sobbing: "My God, my God."

Romuald Rat, a photographer who is under suspicion of failing to help her, said he pulled the door further open and found the princess trapped between the front and back seats and covered by a rug. He lifted her head to see if she was alive and heard her moaning. He told her in English that a doctor was on the way and then went to help Mr Rees-Jones in the front seat. He survived the crash, despite severe facial injuries.

Confirmation of Diana's consciousness was given by the first policeman on the scene, Sebastien Dorzee, who complained of being shoved by photographers as he tried to get her out of the car.

"The princess had turned round in relation to her initial sitting position and her head was between the two seats and she could see her friend in front of her," he said. "Her eyes were open and she moved, talking to me in a foreign language. When she saw her friend was dead, I think she said, 'My God'. At the same time she rubbed her stomach. She must have felt pain."

While he was trying to get her out of the car, she turned her head and, according to the policeman, realised that the driver, Henri Paul, was also dead.

"She became irritated," he added. "A few seconds afterwards she looked at me and then closed her eyes."

According to the book, emergency services arrived at 38 minutes past midnight, six minutes after the crash, but it was an hour before the princess was removed from the wreck.

While the medical team removed her from the vehicle with the help of firemen, the princess had the first of a number of heart attacks and had to be revived by massage.

Jean-Marc Martino, the doctor who first treated her, said he quickly put a tube down her windpipe, to feed oxygen into her lungs, and massaged her heart to get it beating again. He also began a transfusion, dripping an unspecified fluid into a vein. The manoeuvres succeeded in reviving the heart muscle.

At 1.30am it was decided to take her to the Pitié-Salpétrière Hospital. The ambulance drove at about 20mph but had to stop for five minutes because Diana's heart started failing.

Daniel Eyraud, the surgeon who treated her on arrival at the hospital, said there was no serious external injury and the haemorrhage was discovered only after X-rays. The princess's chest had been compressed in the crash, damaging both her right lung and her heart. At 2am the first of a series of operations started in which her chest was opened.

"I noted that the origin of the bleeding was in the pericardiac cavity, completely on the left and behind," the doctor said, explaining that the pulmonary vein had been pulled from the heart.

By 3am, the bleeding was under control but the princess's heart was kept pumping only by the injection of 150 doses of adrenalin and several electric shocks. Eventually, surgeons realised that her heart had given out and registered death at 4am.

## Landmine bill takes priority

**Lucy Ward**
**Political Correspondent**

PARLIAMENT could sit on a Saturday to ensure that legislation ratifying the landmine ban championed by Diana, Princess of Wales, is passed before the first anniversary of her death, the Cabinet decided yesterday.

Confirmation that every effort will be made to find time in the crowded Parliamentary timetable to guarantee legislation is in place by August 31 follows increasing backbench frustration at Government failure to find a firm time slot.

Ministers are also acutely aware of the sensitivity of the Diana connection with the issue, and fear adverse public reaction to delays. Anti-mines campaigners have warned of a betrayal of the princess's memory, and earlier this week Mike Whitlam, the director-general of the British Red Cross, said any delay would "weaken the Government's moral authority".

The Prime Minister's official spokesman yesterday insisted the Government had not buckled under backbench pressure and had always considered the ban a priority.

Despite the crowded legislative timetable, squeezed further by Northern Ireland legislation following the Good Friday agreement, MPs and peers will be called back if necessary on a Friday or Saturday next month when the Commons had not been due to sit, the Cabinet agreed at yesterday's weekly meeting.

A bill is needed to enshrine in law the Ottawa Treaty, which will ban mines once it has been ratified by 40 countries. When Britain signed the convention in December, Tony Blair and the Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, promised Britain would lead the world in the removal of anti-personnel mines, and would be among the first countries to put the legislation on the statute book.

The Tories yesterday dismissed what they claimed were Government insinuations that their MPs or peers would obstruct ratification. The Shadow defence secretary, John Maples, insisted his party would co-operate fully to push the bill through.

## Ulster voters voice resolve in face of eve-of-poll bombing

continued from page 1

it before and we will again. I voted across the ticket, for Unionists and nationalists. I think we have to do that. I have nothing against Unionists if they want to make this agreement work, and most people feel the same way."

The assembly is elected under the single transferable vote system of proportional representation. Each of the 18 Westminster constituencies will elect six members, each to be paid £29,000 with £15,000 office expenses.

Psephologists will be examining the results to see the extent to which voters transfer their preferences to parties across the sectarian divide. Counting begins today and most results are expected by early evening. Some might be delayed until Saturday.

An opinion poll for the Irish Times suggested that more than a quarter of voters will switch to parties backing the agreement. Margaret Cole, aged 50, a part-time teacher, said she had voted across the divide. Most people in the village had, she added.

"The bombing has made everyone angry rather than afraid. It will end up boosting the turnout here.

"One of my colleagues had her house badly damaged, and she got up to come here at 7am when the polls opened. She was that desperate to vote."

The turnout across Northern Ireland was expected to be lower than the 81 per cent for the referendum five weeks ago.

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Frying tonight, right — but for how much longer? Harry Ramsden's, the leading purveyor of Britain's oldest fast food, is gunning for the mediocre chip shop

Dan Atkinson on the battle for a £65bn market

Local ch

Ramsde

THE onward march of "global brands" — which has already steamrollered the butcher, baker and — is heading for the ...ization of commercial in...gence: the local chippie. ...r Ramsden, Yorkshire's ...swer to McDonald's, is go... head-to-head with all ...s husband-and-wife oper... with names like The ...n Cod.

...restaurants circle the ...e from Dublin to Dubai ...until now the group has ...ed largely aloof from the ...ditional newspaper-...ped takeaway trade. But ...erday, the country's 8,000 ...chippies heard the om... ...tread of Ramsden's fam... ...fryers advancing on their ...ure protected corner of ...£1 billion-a-year fast-food ...ket.

...rsden chairman John ...e said yesterday that ...roup was gunning only ...those mediocre chippies ...ich the size down. In any ...e he said, there would be ...e outlets: one good, one ...ge and one poor. Even... he said, the duff chip... ...ld vanish and "everyone ...across a Harry Ramsden ...where".

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...rtheless, those who ...that the stand-alone chip... ...re be going the same ...s the local grocer will ...ave missed the fact that ...s an industry ripe for ...consolidation.

...ll all chippies are one-...family concerns, but ...e the largest chains rarely ...ount to more than 15 shops ...15 per cent of the total ...et.

...th the wide variation in ...ity from one shop to an... ...thankful customers ...hall unto the arms of ...rsden, with its secret bat...

...ter recipe and ... standards.

Not only that, ... may be the best-... term surviving ... British invention.

With almost ... million, fish ... dwarfed by ... billion) and ... active newcomers ... pasta and pizza ... in total). One ... Barnes, in the ... and chip shop ... to market the ... tively in the ... of burger ...

The takeaway ... come in two ... restaurants ... facility (the ... branches) ... forward ... Ramsden ... venture with ... ...rius takeaway ...

Floated on the ... 10 years ago, ... grown from one ... Guiseley to a ... taurant group, ... it has already ... with concepts ... have suggested ... mous fashion ... ers in 1998.

In Newcastle, ... have had Opera ... evenings, fashion ... of Scottish Opera ... ...ring of Harry's ... planned in ... Bay branch. In the ... first drive-thru ... Ramsden ... business.

Meanwhile, ... suppers are ... siastically in ... Tokyo and Melbourne.

But even as it ... Ramsden has not ... a certain northern ... the ways of the ... John Barnes and ... utely last" on the ... list of takeaway ... London. What? ... doners were ...

There is one ... fast food that ... £2.2 billion — ... burgers, pizza, ... rest and shows no ... ing out of fashion ... likely to succumb ... branding.

It is the sandwich.

## Shackled — fo

**...a Kettle in Washington**

THE police officer ...flagged Ester Maria ...Peña down, pointed his ...straight at her, and ...ered to put her hands on ...head. Then he leaned ...her car and unbuckled ...seatbelt. Grabbing her ...arm, he pulled her ...of the vehicle and told ...to bend forward over ...bonnet. Then he hand... ...her and took her to ...police station.

...Peña's offence? She ...been driving at 38mph ...the outside lane of a ...limit zone.

...-year-old Spanish ...teacher's trou...bles did not end ... police took Mrs ... nearby detention ... Frederick, ... where they chai... leg shackles and ... a cell for three ... a lawyer could ... cure her release.

Mrs Peña's ... ing and studying ... pending the flow of ...

Mrs Peña's ... began innocently ... as she drove along ... 15 near Frederick, ... 12. She was looking ... left exit so that she ... make it to her ... church group on ... she slowed down to ... side lane to slow ... for a place to turn.

'For Americans ... anywhere but ... airplanes, water... Hamptons or some...

Bill Buford

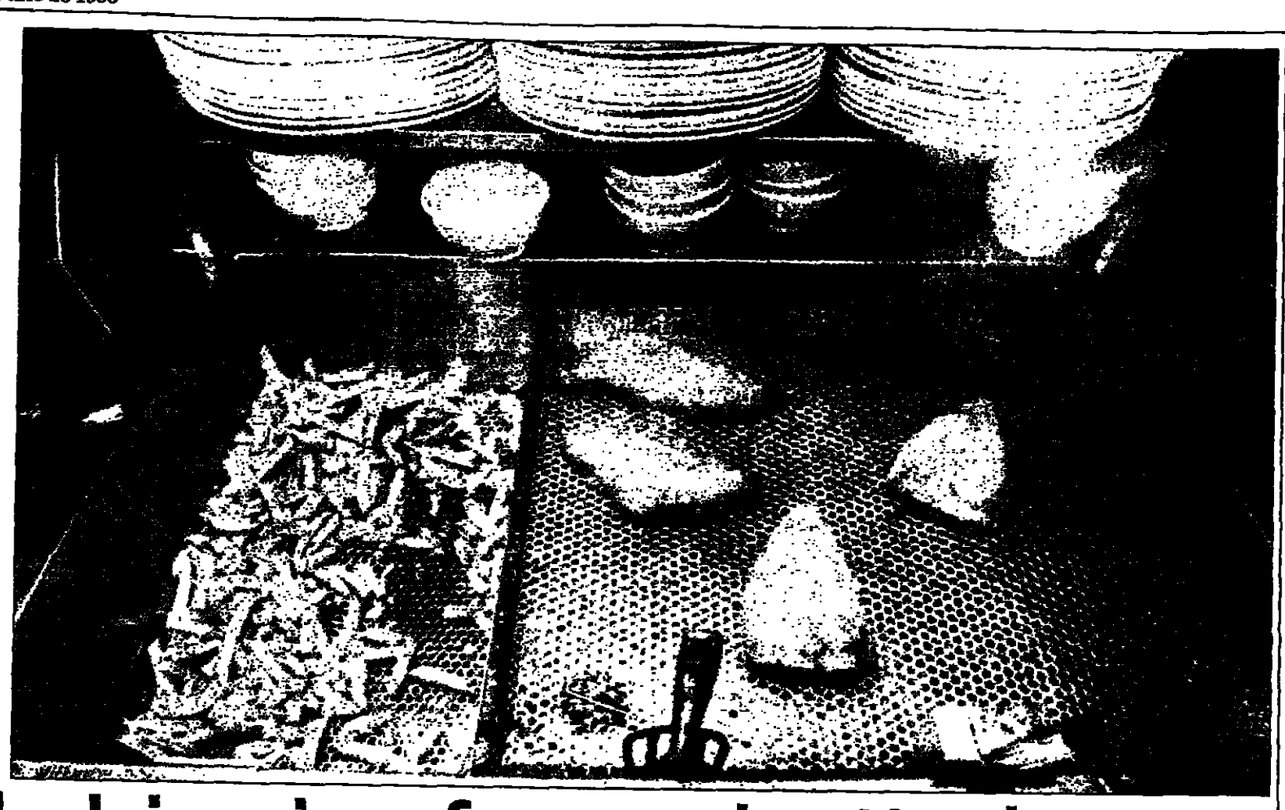
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Frying tonight, right — but for how much longer? Harry Ramsden's, the leading purveyor of Britain's oldest fast food, is gunning for the mediocre chip shop

**Dan Atkinson on the battle for a £650m market**



# Local chippies face a battering as Ramsden empire branches out

THE onward march of "global brands" — which has already steamrollered the butcher, baker and bookie — is heading for the last bastion of commercial independence: the local chippie. Harry Ramsden, Yorkshire's answer to McDonald's, is going head-to-head with all those husband-and-wife operations with names like The Golden Cod.

Its restaurants circle the globe, from Dublin to Dubai, but until now the group has stayed largely aloof from the traditional newspaper-wrapped takeaway trade. But yesterday, the country's 9,000-odd chippies heard the ominous tread of Ramsden's famous fryers advancing on their hitherto protected corner of the £8 billion-a-year fast-food market.

Ramsden chairman John Barnes said yesterday that the group was gunning only for those mediocre chippies who let the side down. In any area, he said, there would be three outlets: one good, one average and one poor. Eventually, he said, the duff chippie will vanish and "everyone can access a Harry Ramsden somewhere".

Indeed, a Ramsden on the block, he said, boosted takings all round, as the image, profile and reputation of Britain's oldest fast food was raised.

And Ramsden will be taking only one bite of the pickled egg at a time: in the coming year, the number of takeaways being opened may be as low as five.

Nevertheless, those who fear that the stand-alone chippie may be going the same way as the local grocer will not have missed the fact that this is an industry ripe for some consolidation.

Not all chippies are one-shop family concerns, but even the largest chains rarely amount to more than 15 shops — 0.16 per cent of the total market.

With the wide variation in quality from one shop to another, thankful customers may fall into the arms of Ramsden, with its secret batter recipe and rigid control of standards.

Not only that, but Ramsden may be the best hope of long-term survival for the great British invention.

With annual sales of £650 million, fish and chips is dwarfed by burger sales (£1.1 billion) and ranks behind relative newcomers such as pasta and pizza (£838 million in total). One reason, said Mr Barnes, is that no one fish and chip shop has the ability to market the product effectively in the face of a barrage of burger propaganda.

The takeaway outlets will come in two forms: smaller restaurants with a takeaway facility (the Harry's Hut branches) and straightforward takeaways. Harry Ramsden is already in a joint venture with the Henry Higgins takeaway chain.

Floated on the stock market 10 years ago, Ramsden has grown from one restaurant in Guiseley to a worldwide restaurant group. In the process, it has already experimented with concepts that would have surprised the eponymous founder's first customers in 1928.

In Newhaven, Leith, they have had Opera and Chips evenings, featuring members of Scottish Opera. In Wales, a ring of Harry's Huts has been planned to orbit the Cardiff Bay branch. In Gateshead, the first drive-through Harry Ramsden has opened for business.

Meanwhile, Ramsden fish suppers are munched enthusiastically in Hong Kong, Tokyo and Melbourne.

But even as it goes global, Ramsden has not entirely lost a certain northern disdain for the ways of the soft South. John Barnes said that "absolutely last" on the company's list of takeaway locations was London. Why? Because Londoners were "more faddy".

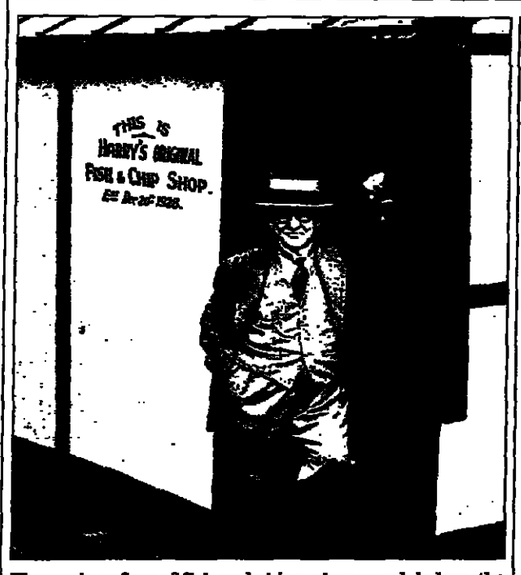
There is one great British fast food that — with sales of £2.2 billion — towers above burgers, pizza, pasta and the rest and shows no sign of going out of fashion. Nor is it likely to succumb to global branding.

It is the sandwich.




## High fryers

- The original site of Harry Ramsden's in Guiseley is in the Guinness Book of Records as the world's largest fish and chip restaurant, serving nearly one million customers a year. To feed them takes 264,000lb of haddock, 660,000lb of potatoes, 360,000 tea-bags and 17,000 loaves of bread.
- The branch in Melbourne served a world record-breaking 12,105 portions in one day.
- Four businessmen made a 300-mile helicopter trip to have lunch at Guiseley.
- The most coaches to arrive at once at a Harry Ramsden's is 27.
- For 10 years Harry Ramsden never had a holiday and worked from 9am to midnight every day.




The modern face of fish and chips, above, and, below, the man who built up the business from scratch 70 years ago

# Miners given no promises in low-bill energy plan

**Celia Weston**
**Industrial Correspondent**

UP TO £700 million could be cut from annual electricity bills under a national energy policy proposed by the Government yesterday. But the blueprint for the power supply industry falls far short of guaranteeing a future for Britain's deep mines or safeguarding miners' jobs.

Lower domestic power bills — an estimated average saving of £30 a year for 23 million consumers — would be achieved by making radical changes to the wholesale electricity market, cutting prices by at least 10 per cent within 18 months to two years.

Announcing the long-awaited government energy review in the Commons, Margaret Beckett, President of the Board of Trade, said serious distortions in the electricity market meant new gas-fired power stations had benefited from higher prices and had been able to displace coal-generated electricity, while consumers had continued to face high bills.

Mrs Beckett also said proposed new-gas fired stations would have to meet more stringent environment and efficiency conditions to win permission to build. Applications currently in the pipeline would be reviewed "case by case".

The electricity industry regulator would be encouraged by ministers to suggest that large generating companies volunteer to sell off some coal-fired power stations to increase competition. Companies not complying were likely to face a long and costly Monopolies and Mergers Commission inquiry.

RJB Mining, which owns 17 of Britain's remaining deep mines, said it was confident the policies outlined by Mrs Beckett would allow it to maintain a long-term business.

It was concern about RJB's failure to secure new coal supply contracts with the big three generators (National Power, PowerGen and Eastern) — with the attendant threat of pit closures and 5,000 job losses — which led to the energy policy review and to the temporary ban on building new gas-fired stations.

But Mrs Beckett's proposals failed to meet the concerns of many in the electricity generating industry who had wanted the Government to end the uncertainty about the size of the market for coal and about the future of at least a dozen new gas-fired stations now left in limbo.

The Electricity Association, the industry's trade body, said: "We are disappointed that uncertainty remains but we are pleased to hear the Government's intention to use reform of market instruments rather than outright intervention. We believe coal has a long-term future as part of the generation fuel mix, but it is incumbent on UK coal producers to ensure they remain competitive."

Mrs Beckett said the Government's plan was to establish secure, diverse and sustainable supplies of energy at competitive prices.

But the Government would not guarantee a specific share of the market for British deep-mined coal nor had it done any deals with the generating companies by promising new policies in exchange for their buying more coal.

The Government's aim, she said, was to create a level playing field for all fuels. Putting the brakes on gas-fired plant construction was "of primary importance to avoid the pre-emptive destruction of our scope for diversity and security while reforms are yet to feed through," she said.

National Power, the country's biggest coal user, backed the idea of preserving the market for coal-fired electricity generation. It said: "We will consider any opportunities that may arise as a result of the energy review ... for additional purchases of UK coal supplies at competitive prices."

A spokesman for PowerGen said: "We welcome the fact that the Government has backed diversity and security of the UK's generating portfolios. It clearly makes sense to have a level playing field between coal and gas. There are clear risks inherent in being dependent on a single fuel source."

Leader comment, page 17; Toasting the review? page 10

# Shackled – for driving too slowly

**Martin Kettle in Washington**

THE police officer flagged Ester Maria Peña down, pointed his gun straight at her, and told her to put her hands on her head. Then he leaned into her car and unbuckled her seatbelt. Grabbing her by the arm, he pulled her out of the vehicle and told her to bend forward over the boot. Then he handcuffed her and took her to the police station.

Mrs Peña's offence? She had been driving at 38mph in the outside lane of a 55mph limit zone.

The 58-year-old Spanish language teacher's troubles did not end there. The police took Mrs Peña to the nearby detention centre at Frederick, Maryland, where they clapped her in leg shackles and shut her in a cell for three hours, until a lawyer could come and secure her release on bail.

Mrs Peña's charge? "Fleeing and eluding" and impeding the flow of traffic.

Mrs Peña's life of crime began innocently enough, as she drove along Highway 15 near Frederick on June 12. She was looking for a left exit so that she could make it to her ladies' church group on time, and she slowed down in the outside lane as she searched for a place to turn.

When she heard the siren behind her, Mrs Peña thought it was an ambulance. Then she saw it was a police car. Finally, she realised that the police were after her, so she brought her car to a stop in the fast lane and the three armed officers approached.

Mrs Peña's story made it to the front pages of American newspapers yesterday amid increasing anxiety about traffic police overreacting to less-than-perfect driving. On the day that Mrs Peña was charged, a diabetic man was severely beaten by Frederick police who mistook his erratic driving for drunken aggression.

Frederick police were quick to defend themselves yesterday. "Older ladies that are confused and scared unfortunately cause accidents," said spokesman Francis Tully. Mrs Peña had failed to pull over for 3½ miles, Mr Tully said, and was therefore charged with fleeing. "They can't just sign off on that. It's an arrestable offence; they have to bring them in." Handcuffs were standard procedure in an arrest, Mr Tully said.

Mrs Peña is planning to bring a legal action against the officers who arrested her. "I don't want to see the policemen now," she said. "I don't have confidence in them."

**'For Americans summer is a romance of being anywhere but here – a Calvin Klein ad of amphibious airplanes, water-skiing, a house in Maine or the Hamptons or some island, any island . . .'**
Bill Buford

Comment, page 16

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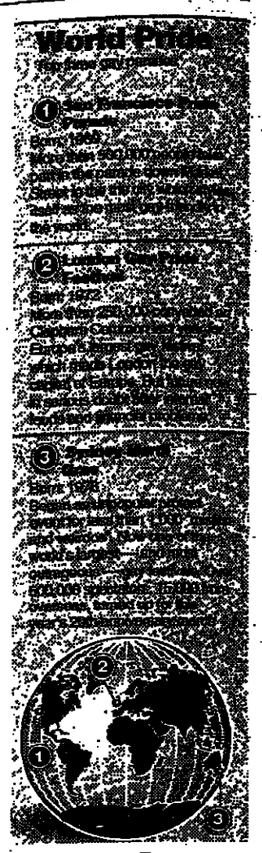
A gay festival drag queen last year PHOTOGRAPH: KIPPA MATTHEWS

'We have had Gay Pride in Lambeth for many years, and we want it in the future, but that doesn't mean that if they get people in who can't organise it properly we have to concede every point they make'

**Toren Smith, Lambeth councillor**



Gay jamboree . . . Revellers relax on Clapham Common during the 1996 Pride festival PHOTOGRAPH: ANDY BLACKMORE




# Gays outraged as festival is postponed

**Stuart Millar**

EUROPE's largest gay jamboree, the Pride festival, was in fresh disarray last night amid accusations of organisational incompetence from campaigners furious at the decision this week to postpone the event.

The organiser, Pride Events UK, said on Monday it was postponing the festival less than a fortnight before it was due to take place on July 4.

It blamed cash shortages caused by two unexpected bills — one for £20,000 for policing and the other, a refundable bond of £50,000 from the council — and promised the event would go ahead later in the summer.

But as angry ticket holders began seeking refunds yesterday, the festival's future was thrown into further confusion when Lambeth council, responsible for licensing Pride, cast doubt on claims that a new date had been confirmed for the event which last year saw more than 250,000 people converge on Clapham Common, south west London.

It dismissed an announcement yesterday that the festival would take place on August 15 — a date the organiser claimed yesterday had the full support of the council.

Toren Smith, chairman of Lambeth's environment committee, said that with many issues unresolved, the council had yet to approve the new date. It also planned to set a deadline for the organisers to hand over the deposit for the use of Clapham Common.

"We have had Gay Pride in Lambeth for many years, and we want it here in the future," he said. "But that doesn't mean that if they get people in who can't organise it properly, we have to concede every point they make."

In a terse letter from its solicitor, Lambeth has written to Pride Events, dismissing as "inaccuracies and distortions" its claims that the council continually "moved the goalposts".

All but one of the board of Pride Events has stepped down since details of the fiasco came to light.

The remaining member, Matt Williams, insisted he was confident Pride would go ahead in August. "There is a still a long way to go but I am convinced that we are getting there. Postponing it has allowed us to solve the problems and make the event even better."

But Ian Farmer, of the Equality Alliance, said: "It has been a farce so far and I think we have to be realistic. I can see no way that they could possibly resolve the problems in time for Pride to go ahead, and the best thing we can hope for is that the lessons have been learned for next year."

The alliance and 50 other groups, including Stonewall, have decided to press ahead with the traditional march through central London on July 4 as planned — a development which further undermines the chances of the festival taking place at all.

The origins of the crisis go back to last year when the Pride Trust, which organised the event — the largest and most successful to date — went into voluntary liquidation with debts of £170,000.

The fiasco led the council, which had been forced to pick up the £20,000 clean-up bill for the 1997 event, to increase its fee for the use of the common from £25,000 to £150,000. It also required the bond of £50,000.

It also imposed a restriction on numbers to 100,000 this year after being inundated with complaints from residents last year about the disruption. For the first time in Pride's 26-year history, a £5 ticket charge was introduced — a move which meant the police imposed a £20,000 fee for what had become a paying event.

That was compounded by the unenthusiastic public response from the public. Less than half of the tickets had been sold by the time the event was postponed.

Now many who bought tickets want their money back. Tim Teeman, editor of the Pink Paper said: "Our readers are fed up with what they see as three months of prevarication and procrastination and incompetence."


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# Law lords rule against patient 'sectioning'

**Clare Dyer**
**Legal Correspondent**

AN Appeal Court ruling which forced NHS trusts to "section" thousands of patients under the Mental Health Act who would otherwise have been kept informally in hospitals or nursing homes was overturned by the Lords yesterday.

The unanimous ruling by five law lords was greeted with huge relief in the health service. Psychiatrists had been forced to assess and section thousands of long-stay patients with learning disabilities and dementias such as Alzheimer's disease, following the Appeal Court ruling last December which meant they were unlawfully detained.

The Appeal Court ruled that an autistic man aged 48, named only as L, who was incapable of consenting to detention in hospital, could not be detained informally on the basis that he was not actively objecting. He had to be sectioned formally under the Mental Health Act, which contains safeguards for patients detained without consent.

The ruling threw into confusion the position of nursing homes not registered to accommodate patients detained under the act, but who had residents who were informally detained like L.

It also threatened a huge extra workload for doctors and social workers in sectioning patients, for the Mental Health Act Commission in monitoring their treatment, and for mental health review tribunals, to which compulsorily detained patients must be referred regularly.

The court was told that if the Appeal Court's ruling stood, it would mean an extra 48,000 compulsory admissions each year. On any one day there would be 35,000 patients detained under the act, compared to 13,000 previously.

But the law lords accepted arguments by Bournewood Community and Mental Health NHS Trust and by the Department of Health that doctors were justified in taking L, who was harming himself, into Bournewood hospital in Surrey and keeping him there. Their actions were covered by the principle of "necessity", which allows doctors to treat without consent in the best interests of a patient who cannot consent.

Lord Steyn said Parliament had preserved this principle as a means of admitting compliant patients who could not consent when the 1983 Mental Health Act was passed. Therefore L's detention was not unlawful, but the decision took away safeguards from such patients and created "an indefensible gap in our mental health law".

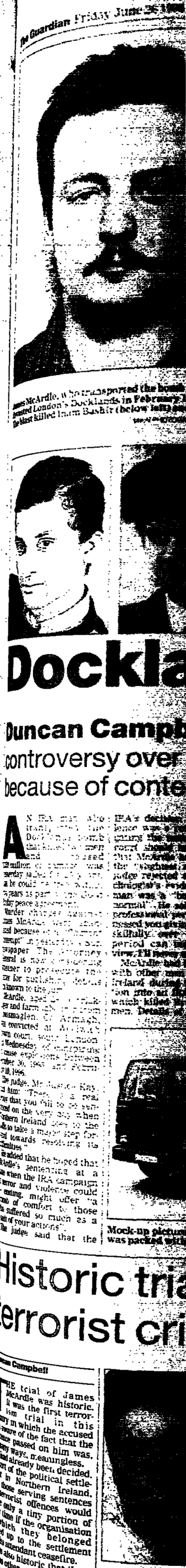
The safeguards of the act were withheld from "a large class of vulnerable mentally incapacitated individuals", said the judge.

> Safeguards were withheld from 'a large class of vulnerable people'

L was admitted to Bournewood hospital in July last year after becoming distressed, hitting himself on the head with his fists and banging his head against a wall. Mr and Mrs E, who had become his paid carers after he had spent 30 years at the hospital, and who regarded him as "one of the family", launched a legal battle to be allowed to take him home.

They were successful when Lord Woolf, sitting with Lord Justice Phillips and Lord Justice Chadwick, unanimously agreed that the trust had misinterpreted the law.

Yesterday the law lords disagreed. Lord Goff said he had no doubt that steps taken by the hospital were in L's best interests. In so far as they might have constituted an invasion of his civil rights, they were "justified on the basis of the common law doctrine of necessity".



The Guardian Friday June 26 1998

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James McArdle, who transported the bomb which devasted London's Docklands in February 1996 (right). The blast killed Inam Bashir (below left) and John Jeffries

MAIN PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID SILLITOE







# Dockland bomber 'free in two years'

## **Duncan Campbell** on double controversy over trial abandoned because of contempt by tabloid

AN IRA man who transported the Docklands bomb that killed two men and caused £150 million of damage, was yesterday jailed for 25 years. But he could be free within two years as part of the Good Friday peace agreement.

Murder charges against James McArdle were abandoned because of a "flagrant contempt" in yesterday's Sun newspaper. The Attorney General is now considering whether to prosecute the paper for publishing details not known to the jury.

McArdle, aged 29, a bricklayer and farm labourer from Crossmaglen, Co Armagh, was convicted at Woolwich crown court, south London, on Wednesday of conspiring to cause explosions between October 30, 1995, and February 10, 1996.

The judge, Mr Justice Kay, told him: "There is a real irony that you fall to be sentenced on the very day when Northern Ireland goes to the polls to take a major step forward towards resolving its difficulties."

He added that he hoped that McArdle's sentencing at a time when the IRA campaign of terror and violence could be ending, might offer "a crumb of comfort to those who suffered so much as a result of your actions".

The judge said that the IRA's decision to cease violence was a reason for mitigating the sentence that the court should impose. Noting that McArdle had not shown the "slightest remorse", the judge rejected a defence psychologist's evidence that the man was a "borderline subnormal". He said: "How any professional person who witnessed you giving evidence so skilfully over a prolonged period can maintain that view, I'll never understand."

McArdle had been arrested with other men in Northern Ireland during an investigation into an IRA sniper unit which killed British servicemen. Details of this had not been given to the jury but appeared in yesterday's Sun following McArdle's conviction on conspiracy charges. Because of the newspaper's report, the jury was discharged and the additional charges of the murder of newsagent Inam Bashir and his assistant, John Jeffries, who died in the blast at South Quay in London's Docklands, were left on file.

Prosecuting counsel John Bevan QC, for the Crown, said that the charges could not proceed because of the Sun and "their disregard for a contempt order, which was in words which even a child could understand". He said that now there would not be a verdict as to the defendant's responsibility for the two deaths. "Justice demands that a jury rather than the Sun newspaper are best suited to decide the guilt of someone charged with one of the most serious terrorist offences of recent years."

Counsel for the Sun, Justin Rushbrook, told the judge: "We are horrified by what has happened this morning ... we are not here to try and justify our conduct."

It was the 199th call to the anti-terrorist hotline set up after the bombing that led to McArdle's conviction yesterday. Along the way, the clues that linked McArdle to the bomb included a magazine, a packet of windscreen cleaning tissues, an ashtray, and a ferry ticket. A mock-up picture of the bomb lorry, that had been packed with more than a ton of home-made explosive, was given to the media, and the head of the anti-terrorist branch, Commander John Grieve, appealed for witnesses.

In response, there were about 850 phone calls, the key one coming four days after the bombing and taking police to wasteland at River Road in Barking, east London, where the lorry had been spotted parked earlier on the day of the bombing.

The search there revealed a copy of Truck and Driver magazine with a thumb-print on it, a receipt for a parking ticket at South Mimms truck stop, a receipt for windscreen wipes, and a lorry's tachograph in the name of J McCann. These items gave clues to the route the lorry had taken on its bombing mission and on a previous dummy run. On the dummy run the lorry had been driven from Northern Ireland, via the ferry to Stranraer, then down to Carlisle.

The lorry stopped at a car auction in Carlisle where two men, one of them McArdle, bought two second-hand cars. The lorry had then been driven back to Northern Ireland across the ferry. A thumb-print, matching the find in Barking, was found on the part of the ferry ticket retained by the ferry company at Stranraer.

Detectives plotting the route of the lorry's second trip found that its driver had stayed in room 107 of a truck-stop in Carlisle. There on an ashtray was a third matching thumb-print. Now the anti-terrorist branch had their suspect. He became known to detectives as "The Triple Thumb-print Man".

But it was not until the following year, when the Royal Ulster Constabulary arrested McArdle and other men in the hunt for the snipers who had picked off British servicemen in Northern Ireland, that the prints were matched. McArdle said nothing on arrest and in the witness box claimed that that was because he had a "suggestible personality".

The other part of a joint operation between Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist branch, other British forces, the RUC and the Irish Garda, had meanwhile found the place where the lorry had been converted to carry the bomb.

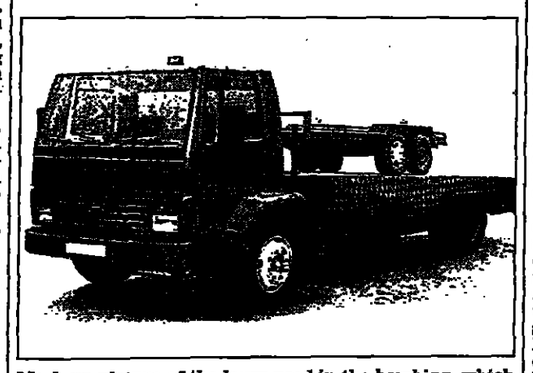
In the first operation of its kind, by the anti-terrorist branch in Northern Ireland with the army providing helicopters and five transporters, detectives moved in. One man was arrested, but he was formally acquitted earlier this year after the judge ruled that there was insufficient evidence to proceed against him.

The anti-terrorist branch believes that probably about seven or eight people were involved in the conspiracy.




They showed 'disregard for a contempt order which was in words even a child could understand'

**John Bevan QC on yesterday's Sun (left)**



Mock-up picture of the lorry used in the bombing, which was packed with more than a ton of home-made explosive

# Historic trial leaves other terrorist crimes unsolved

**Duncan Campbell**

THE trial of James McArdle was historic. It was the first terrorism trial in this country in which the accused was aware of the fact that the sentence passed on him was, in many ways, meaningless.

It had already been decided, as part of the political settlement in Northern Ireland, that those serving sentences for terrorist offences would serve only a tiny portion of their time if the organisation to which they belonged signed up to the settlement and its attendant ceasefire.

It is also historic that there are no other outstanding IRA trials. In the 27 years since the formation of the anti-terrorist branch, there have been 1,300 bomb incidents which have lead to 660 people being charged.

While not all have been IRA bombs — the terrorist incident causing the most fatalities was the Lockerbie bomb — the IRA and INLA have been the main focus of the anti-terrorist branch's activities since bombs first exploded outside the Old Bailey and Whitehall on March 8, 1973.

The IRA's tactics in trials has changed dramatically over the last 25 years. In the early days members often refused to speak or to recognise the court. More recently they have been given the freedom to put forward explanations for their behaviour which could lead to acquittal.

Most strikingly this happened in the case of Kevin Barry O'Donnell who, in the witness box, denounced violence and said the explosives and weapons found in his car must have been left there by a relative. In the same week that the Birmingham Six were finally cleared in March 1991, he was acquitted by a jury possibly anxious not to be responsible for another miscarriage of justice. In February 1992, he was shot dead in an IRA attack on British troops in Northern Ireland and was celebrated as a prominent IRA man in republican publications.

More recently one of the IRA's key strategists, Gerard Hanratty, went into the witness box in June last year admitting his membership of the IRA, showing how bombs could be made but saying he and those with whom he was arrested had not been planning explosions. He said the aim was to plant dummy bombs and cause disruption. He was jailed for 35 years.

Over the last few years, the anti-terrorist branch and MI5 have had increasing success in penetrating IRA active service units operating in England. However, no one has yet been charged with a number of high profile attacks.

These include:

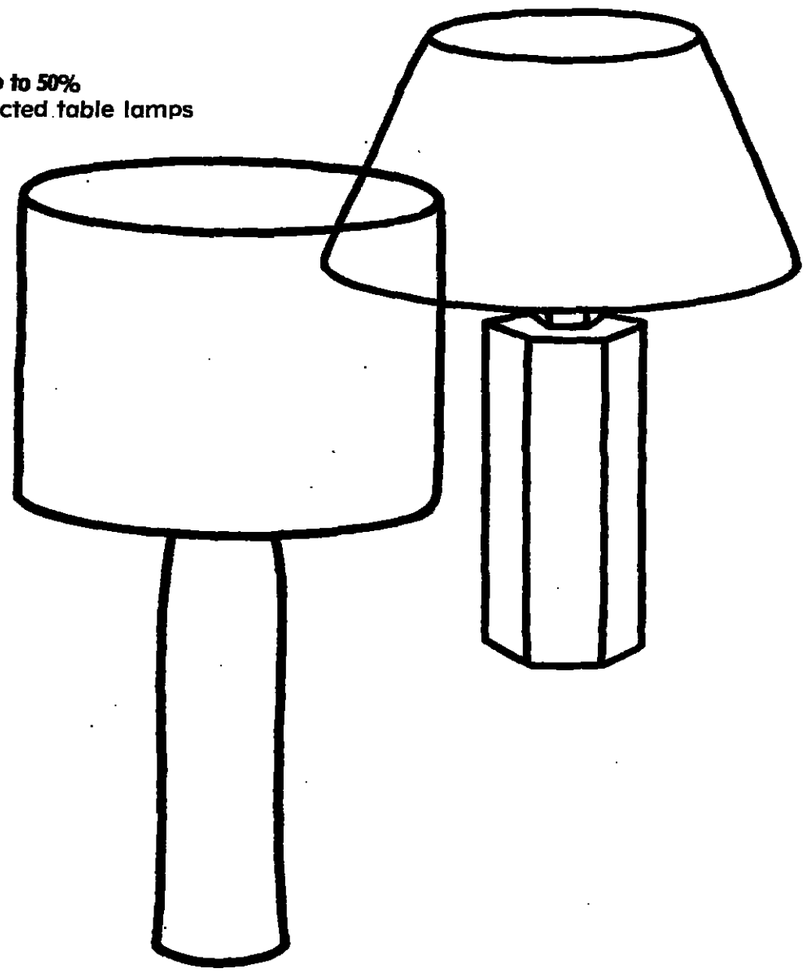
- The North Barracks bomb in Deal, Kent, in which 11 bandsmen from the Royal Marines School of Music were killed on September 22, 1989;
- The mortar attack on 10 Downing Street on February 7, 1991;
- The Baltic Exchange bomb in the City in which three people were killed on April 10, 1992;
- The Warrington bomb of March 20, 1993 in which Johnathan Ball and Tim Parry were killed;
- The Bishopsgate bomb of April 24, 1993 in which one person was killed.

Yesterday, Commander John Grieve of the Anti-Terrorist Branch said his officers would continue to investigate any new leads relating to the unsolved attacks. It is understood that some suspects are already serving sentences for other IRA offences.



IRA men Kevin O'Donnell (left), who was acquitted in 1991, but shot in 1992, and Gerard Hanratty, jailed for 35 years

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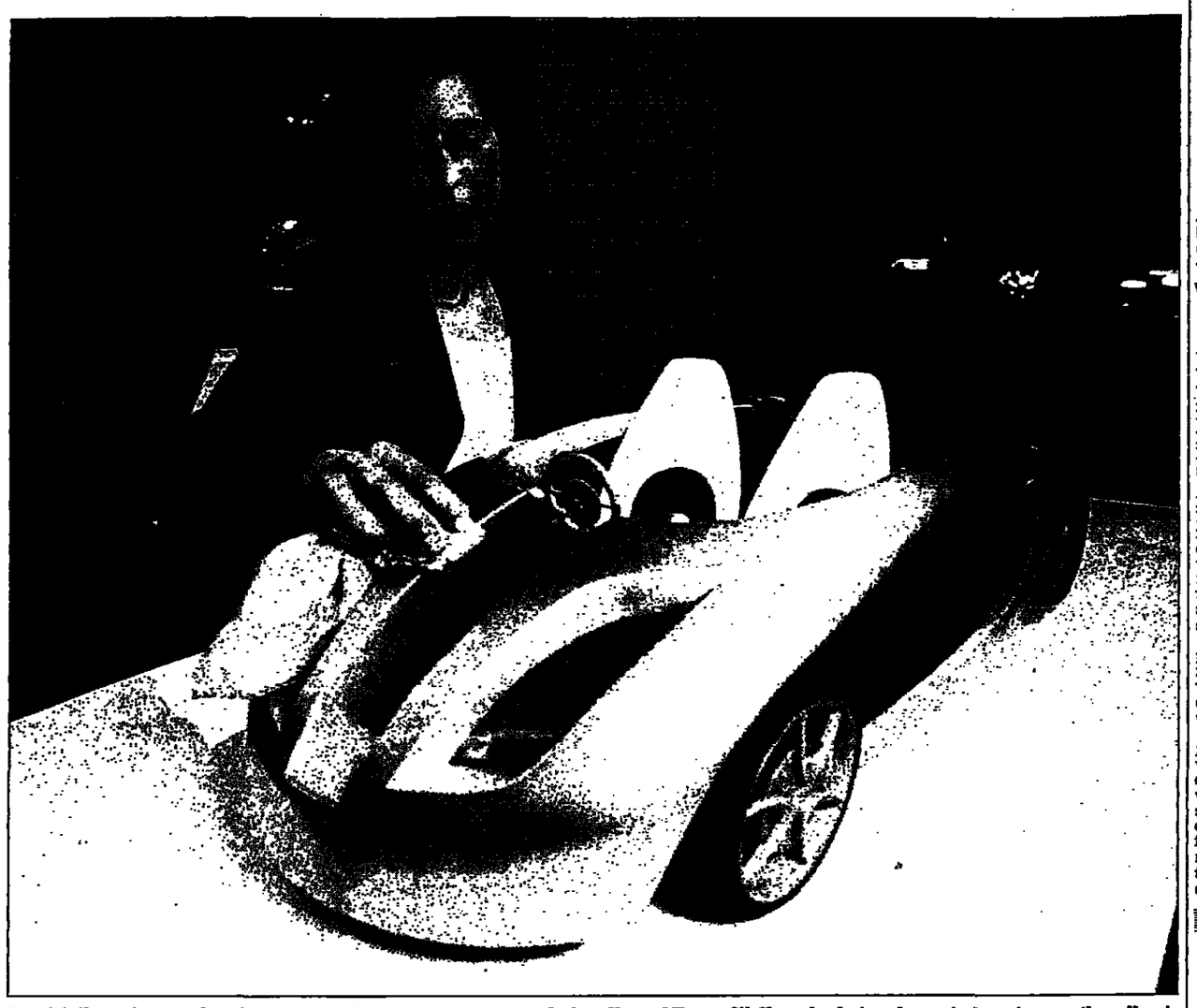


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## Fast track pioneer



Royal College of Art student Charlotte Schiffer, with her sports car design. She and Kyung Sil-Cho, who designed a car/submarine, are the college's first women graduates in vehicle design, and their work is included in a show at the college in London from June 25-July 6 PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN ARGLES

### Complaints of officers abusing vulnerable women

# Worry over police sex harassment

**Duncan Campbell**
**Crime Correspondent**

VULNERABLE women have been exploited by police officers to whom they have turned for help, according to the Police Complaints Authority. Some officers had formed sexual relationships with victims of domestic violence and others have harassed women they were supposed to be helping.

Allegations of sexual harassment by police officers have featured more prominently in recent years, the chairman of the PCA said at the presentation yesterday of its annual report. Although there were only a relatively small number of cases, they showed a worrying trend.

The authority also expressed concern over the number of deaths in custody which now occur on average every week. It called for better training for custody staff.

"The most disturbing complaints come from women whose vulnerability has been exploited by police officers to whom they turned for help," said Peter Moorhouse, PCA chairman. "In some cases, officers had formed sexual relationships with the victims of domestic violence. In others, women complaining of harassment had sought police protection only to suffer the same treatment from the officer supposed to be assisting them."

The deputy chairman, John Cartwright, said much of the sexual harassment was by officers in specialist squads. "There is a clear resentment on the part of some male officers that female officers are coming into some areas, like CID, that they have no business to be in — they are seen as all-male domains."

There were 73 complaints of sexual assault last year, of which eight led to disciplinary charges. One officer, John Blott, was jailed for 10 years at Leeds crown court earlier this year for two rapes and one indecent assault. A female detective from Thames Valley, Dee Mazurkiewicz, received £150,000 in compensation from her force for sexual harassment.

A total of 53 deaths in custody were investigated, an increase on last year's 48 and the previous year's 46. Of the deaths, 46 were of white people, three black, three Asian and one other. Alcohol or drugs were involved in 26 deaths. There were 16 suicides.

Mr Moorhousesaid that a conference would be held later this year in an effort to avoid such deaths. There were 18,354 complaints last year, a decrease on the 19,958 made the previous year. Around 18 per cent of complainants came from ethnic minorities.

Of 4,390 cases investigated by the PCA, 1,130 resulted in disciplinary action, with 228 being charged and 892 receiving admonishments or advice. Around 10 per cent of the complaints concerned use of CS sprays, batons or handcuffs.

John Wadham, director of Liberty, said: "A death in police custody every week is an absolute disgrace. The alarmingly high number of complaints about CS spray supports our view that that its use should be stopped."

Helen Shaw, of Inquest, which campaigns on the issue of deaths in custody, said: "These issues have been identified time and time again." She added that deaths in prison were more thoroughly investigated than those in police custody.

Fred Broughton, chairman of the Police Federation, said he condemned any abuse of power and supported officers who had been victimised by sexist attitudes. "Every death in custody is of great concern to the forces involved and we continue to campaign for better training for officers."

Analysis, page 14

# Investigation of 'fake' soccer nutritionist

**David Ward**

POLICE are investigating the activities and qualifications of a nutritionist who advised Newcastle United footballers, including three members of the present World Cup squad.

Sue Ready, aged 27, has admitted using forged certificates and claiming to have non-existent degrees from universities in London and Boston in order to get a job at St James's Park in 1996, where she became known as the first full-time nutritionist and sports scientist to work with a British soccer club.

"Once I had started telling lies, I had to keep them going and I couldn't stop," she said in a statement in which she apologised to everyone who had trusted her.

Police have interviewed Ms Ready and bailed her to attend Gosforth police station in August. "We would like to hear from anyone who has business dealing with her," said a spokeswoman.

Ms Ready set up a business called Nutricare at the Gosforth Park Hotel in Newcastle upon Tyne and is believed to have advised Alan Shearer, David Batty and Les Ferdinand. No one was answering calls to Nutricare yesterday and a Newcastle United spokesman said she had had no connection with the club since Kenny Dalglish became manager last year.

Ms Ready claimed at first that the forgeries had been made by someone determined to discredit her reputation, but then made full admissions in a statement. She explained that she had begun an English and media studies degree at Sussex university but left after 18 months because of illness.

Doctors treating her for MS helped her with steroids and dietary advice. "When I got out of hospital, I started to tell other people how good diet could help them as well," she said. "I worked at a natural health centre then at a doctor's surgery. I didn't have any qualifications ... Then my grandad died and I wanted to come back to Newcastle. I got the chance when Alan Shearer signed. I used forged certificates to help me get the job.

"I have never hurt a patient. I have never done any damage to a patient. I did all this because I wanted to help people. I studied hard on my own and did a good job ... All the way along the line, I told myself that when I earn some proper money I will get proper qualifications.

"I want to apologise to everyone who has helped me and put their trust in me. I have let them down badly but I didn't mean to hurt anyone."

Philip Young, of Apollo PR, who has represented her since last August but has now severed the connection, said Ms Ready had advised him on diet and training for a charity bike ride in Egypt. "Her advice worked for me, but I have no medical or scientific grounding," he said last night.

Many health writers had interviewed her without questioning her abilities. "No one ever came back and said Alan Shearer had never heard of her. It all seemed very reasonable.

"She knows she has let a lot of people down and let herself down. She had a great deal of potential if she had gone about things in the proper way ... She did know her stuff, there's no doubt about that."

The Journal, Newcastle's morning newspaper, has now withdrawn Ms Ready's regular column.



Sue Ready, 'expert on nutrition' PHOTOGRAPH: IAN DUNCAN


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| | New Annual Interest Rates Gross % Rate p.a. | New Annual Interest Rates Net % Rate p.a. | New Monthly Interest Rates Gross % Rate p.a. | New Monthly Interest Rates Net % Rate p.a. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **ACTION SAVER** | | | | |
| £25,000 plus | 5.00 | 4.00 | – | – |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | 4.65 | 3.72 | – | – |
| £5,000 up to £9,999 | 4.35 | 3.48 | – | – |
| £2,500 up to £4,999 | 4.15 | 3.32 | – | – |
| £500 up to £2,499 | 4.00 | 3.20 | – | – |
| £250 up to £499 | 3.85 | 3.08 | – | – |
| £100 up to £249 | 3.70 | 2.96 | – | – |
| £1 up to £99 | 3.60 | 2.88 | – | – |
| **INSTANT SAVER** | | | | |
| £25,000 plus | 4.45 | 3.56 | – | – |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | 3.90 | 3.12 | – | – |
| £5,000 up to £9,999 | 3.60 | 2.88 | – | – |
| £2,500 up to £4,999 | 3.30 | 2.64 | – | – |
| £500 up to £2,499 | 3.10 | 2.48 | – | – |
| £250 up to £499 | 2.00 | 1.60 | – | – |
| £1 up to £249 | 0.50 | 0.40 | – | – |
| **INVESTOR 30** | | | | |
| £100,000 plus | 6.20 | 4.96 | 6.03 | 4.82 |
| £50,000 up to £99,999 | 5.80 | 4.64 | 5.65 | 4.52 |
| £25,000 up to £49,999 | 5.45 | 4.36 | 5.32 | 4.26 |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | 5.10 | 4.08 | 4.98 | 3.98 |
| £5,000 up to £9,999 | 4.55 | 3.64 | 4.46 | 3.57 |
| £1,000 up to £4,999 | 4.25 | 3.40 | 4.17 | 3.34 |
| **PREMIUM INVESTOR†** (accounts registered before 31st August 1997)*** | | | | |
| £100,000 plus | 7.70 | 6.16 | 7.44 | 5.95 |
| £50,000 up to £99,999 | 7.30 | 5.84 | 7.07 | 5.66 |
| £25,000 up to £49,999 | 6.95 | 5.56 | 6.74 | 5.39 |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | 6.60 | 5.28 | 6.41 | 5.13 |
| £5,000 up to £9,999 | 6.05 | 4.84 | 5.89 | 4.71 |
| £1,000 up to £4,999 | 5.75 | 4.60 | 5.60 | 4.48 |
| **PREMIUM INVESTOR†** (accounts registered from 31st August 1997 to 30th September 1997)** | | | | |
| £100,000 plus | 7.45 | 5.96 | 7.21 | 5.77 |
| £50,000 up to £99,999 | 7.05 | 5.64 | 6.83 | 5.46 |
| £25,000 up to £49,999 | 6.70 | 5.36 | 6.50 | 5.20 |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | 6.35 | 5.08 | 6.17 | 4.94 |
| £5,000 up to £9,999 | 5.80 | 4.64 | 5.65 | 4.52 |
| £1,000 up to £4,999 | 5.50 | 4.40 | 5.37 | 4.30 |
| **PREMIUM INVESTOR†** (accounts registered after 30th September 1997 to 1st November 1997) | | | | |
| £100,000 plus | 7.20 | 5.76 | 6.97 | 5.58 |
| £50,000 up to £99,999 | 6.80 | 5.44 | 6.60 | 5.28 |
| £25,000 up to £49,999 | 6.45 | 5.16 | 6.27 | 5.02 |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | 6.10 | 4.88 | 5.94 | 4.75 |
| £5,000 up to £9,999 | 5.55 | 4.44 | 5.41 | 4.33 |
| £1,000 up to £4,999 | 5.25 | 4.20 | 5.13 | 4.10 |
| **REGULAR SAVER*** | | | | |
| £25,000 plus | 6.65 | 5.32 | – | – |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | 6.45 | 5.16 | – | – |
| £5,000 up to £9,999 | 6.35 | 5.08 | – | – |
| £2,500 up to £4,999 | 6.15 | 4.92 | – | – |
| £500 up to £2,499 | 6.05 | 4.84 | – | – |
| £20 up to £499 | 5.50 | 4.40 | – | – |
| **INVESTMENT RESERVE†** | | | | |
| £100,000 plus | 7.55 | 6.04 | 7.30 | 5.84 |
| £50,000 up to £99,999 | 7.05 | 5.64 | 6.83 | 5.46 |
| £25,000 up to £49,999 | 6.80 | 5.44 | 6.60 | 5.28 |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | 6.50 | 5.20 | 6.31 | 5.05 |
| £5,000 up to £9,999 | 6.25 | 5.00 | 6.08 | 4.86 |
| £2,500 up to £4,999 | 5.90 | 4.72 | 5.75 | 4.60 |
| **HIGH YIELD BOND†** | | | | |
| £200,000 plus | 7.90 | 6.32 | 7.63 | 6.10 |
| £100,000 up to £199,999 | 7.65 | 6.12 | 7.39 | 5.91 |
| £50,000 up to £99,999 | 7.10 | 5.68 | 6.88 | 5.50 |
| £25,000 up to £49,999 | 6.85 | 5.48 | 6.64 | 5.31 |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | 6.55 | 5.24 | 6.36 | 5.09 |
| **CHOICES BOND†††** | | | | |
| £200,000 plus | 7.90 | 6.32 | 7.63 | 6.10 |
| £100,000 up to £199,999 | 7.65 | 6.12 | 7.39 | 5.91 |
| £50,000 up to £99,999 | 7.10 | 5.68 | 6.88 | 5.50 |
| £25,000 up to £49,999 | 6.85 | 5.48 | 6.64 | 5.31 |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | 6.55 | 5.24 | 6.36 | 5.09 |
| £1,000 up to £9,999 | 6.30 | 5.04 | 6.13 | 4.90 |
| **OPTIMUM BOND†** | | | | |
| £200,000 plus | 7.90 | 6.32 | 7.63 | 6.10 |
| £100,000 up to £199,999 | 7.65 | 6.12 | 7.39 | 5.91 |
| £50,000 up to £99,999 | 7.10 | 5.68 | 6.88 | 5.50 |
| £25,000 up to £49,999 | 6.85 | 5.48 | 6.64 | 5.31 |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | 6.55 | 5.24 | 6.36 | 5.09 |
| **TESSA: FIRST EDITION†** | | | | |
| £1 plus | 8.00 | – | – | – |
| **TESSA: SECOND EDITION†** | | | | |
| £9,000 plus | 8.00 | – | – | – |
| £8,400 up to £8,999 | 7.55 | – | – | – |
| £6,600 up to £8,399 | 7.25 | – | – | – |
| £4,800 up to £6,599 | 7.10 | – | – | – |
| £3,000 up to £4,799 | 6.90 | – | – | – |
| £1 up to £2,999 | 6.75 | – | – | – |
| **TESSA: THIRD EDITION** | | | | |
| £9,000 plus | 8.00 | – | – | – |
| £8,400 up to £8,999 | 7.55 | – | – | – |
| £6,600 up to £8,399 | 7.25 | – | – | – |
| £4,800 up to £6,599 | 7.10 | – | – | – |
| £3,000 up to £4,799 | 6.90 | – | – | – |
| £1 up to £2,999 | 6.75 | – | – | – |
| **POSTAL INVESTMENT ACCOUNT†** | | | | |
| £200,000 plus | 6.40 | 5.12 | 6.22 | 4.98 |
| £100,000 up to £199,999 | 6.25 | 5.00 | 6.08 | 4.86 |
| £50,000 up to £99,999 | 6.05 | 4.84 | 5.89 | 4.71 |
| £25,000 up to £49,999 | 5.95 | 4.76 | 5.79 | 4.63 |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | 5.50 | 4.40 | 5.37 | 4.30 |
| £500 up to £9,999 | 4.05 | 3.24 | 3.98 | 3.18 |
| **RETIREMENT INVESTMENT ACCOUNT†** | | | | |
| £20,000 plus | 7.25 | – | – | – |
| £15,000 up to £19,999 | 7.00 | – | – | – |
| £10,000 up to £14,999 | 6.80 | – | – | – |
| £5,000 up to £9,999 | 6.30 | – | – | – |
| £2,000 up to £4,999 | 5.90 | – | – | – |
| £1 up to £1,999 | 4.80 | – | – | – |
| **NOT ORDINARILY RESIDENT ACCOUNT (NORA)†** | | | | |
| £25,000 plus | 6.00 | – | – | – |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | 4.35 | – | – | – |
| £5,000 up to £9,999 | 4.00 | – | – | – |
| £500 up to £4,999 | 3.75 | – | – | – |
| £1 up to £499 | 0.70 | – | – | – |
| **HIGH INTEREST EMPLOYEE SAVINGS SCHEME (HIESS)†** | | | | |
| £1 plus | 6.30 | 5.04 | – | – |
| **CHARITY INVESTMENT** | | | | |
| £500,000 plus | 7.25 | – | – | – |
| £200,000 up to £499,999 | 6.70 | – | – | – |
| £50,000 up to £199,999 | 6.15 | – | – | – |
| £25,000 up to £49,999 | 5.35 | – | – | – |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | 4.90 | – | – | – |
| £5,000 up to £9,999 | 4.30 | – | – | – |
| £500 up to £4,999 | 4.05 | – | – | – |
| £1 up to £499 | 2.65 | – | – | – |
| **TREASURERS** | | | | |
| £25,000 plus | 5.35 | – | – | – |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | 4.90 | – | – | – |
| £5,000 up to £9,999 | 4.30 | – | – | – |
| £500 up to £4,999 | 4.05 | – | – | – |
| £1 up to £99 | 2.65 | – | – | – |

| | | New Compounded Annual Rates†† Gross % C.A.R. | Net % C.A.R. | New Quarterly Rates Gross % p.a. | Net % p.a. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **INVESTOR 90‡** | | | | | |
| £200,000 plus | | 7.80 | 6.20 | 7.58 | 6.06 |
| £100,000 up to £199,999 | | 7.56 | 6.01 | 7.35 | 5.88 |
| £50,000 up to £99,999 | | 7.05 | 5.61 | 6.87 | 5.50 |
| £25,000 up to £49,999 | | 6.80 | 5.41 | 6.63 | 5.30 |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | | 6.50 | 5.18 | 6.35 | 5.08 |
| £5,000 up to £9,999 | | 6.25 | 4.98 | 6.11 | 4.89 |
| £2,000 up to £4,999 | | 5.90 | 4.70 | 5.77 | 4.62 |
| **BONUS POSTAL ACCOUNT‡** | | | | | |
| £100,000 plus | | 7.75 | 6.16 | 7.53 | 6.02 |
| £50,000 up to £99,999 | | 7.65 | 6.08 | 7.44 | 5.95 |
| £25,000 up to £49,999 | | 7.56 | 6.01 | 7.35 | 5.88 |
| £10,000 up to £24,999 | | 7.45 | 5.93 | 7.25 | 5.80 |

| | | New Compounded Annual Rates Gross % C.A.R. | Net % C.A.R. | New Annual Rates Gross % p.a. | Net % p.a. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AVC's: ALL | £1 plus | 7.33 | – | 7.20 | – |
| OSPP PENSIONS | £1 plus | 7.33 | – | 7.20 | – |

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# World Cup 98

# Diary

AFTER Alan Clark paid tribute to the "martial spirit" of the English following the trouble in Marseille, another tired old dinosaur has lent support to the hooligans cause. The 79-year-old Dowager Marchioness of Reading proclaimed in a letter to the Spectator: "Now that we don't have war, what's wrong with a good punch-up?"

Speaking yesterday the dowager elaborated on her views. "I love England so much and I just feel that the so-called hooligans are just sort of over-enthusiastic. How is it that we conquered the world and that our armies went over the top? How is it that the most inventive people in the world come from England? It is because we are a nation of fighters.

"With so many milksops, and leftwing liberals and wetties around, I just rejoice in the fact that there are people who keep up our historic spirit.

"I ought to be put down. [No arguments there] I am a wicked, dangerous woman. But I am not going to be shut up by a lot of leftwing liberals who sit at home and pick their noses."

NEXT to the English and German hooligans, the most unwelcome visitors to France this summer are a team of champion pickpockets from South America. More than a dozen of the highly trained pilferers, mostly from Chile, have been arrested by French police for robbing foreign tourists since the tournament began.

Special commiserations must go to a lightfingered Ecuadorian couple, aged 60 and 57, whose preparations for the tournament would have done any of the competing teams proud. Booking on the same flights and into the same hotels as potential victims, as well as obtaining tickets for big games, the couple were given the red card soon after arriving in France when they were caught lifting a fat wallet from a German tourist at Charles de Gaulle airport.

AN explanation has arrived at the diary for England's last-minute defeat by Romania on Monday night. According to researchers at Leeds university it was nothing to do with Graeme Le Saux being a bad defender and all to do with the Romanians being spurred on by their yellow strip.

"Players are likely to be influenced by colour differences, particularly at the end of a game," said Douglas Sandle, reader in visual studies at the university. "Red, orange or yellow — especially in jagged stripes — can get the adrenaline flowing in extra time."

Apparently the ideal is a team wearing a "pale, unsaturated colour strip" with players also equipped with coloured contact lenses. This "would give the team low visibility and a stealth factor in defence but also ... high visibility for accurate passing to one another". (It is hard to imagine Tony Adams looking stealthy in anything, but you never know.)

The LMU team rates France's tricolour and Romania's "extrovert yellow and aggressive blue" as the most effective strips. Unfortunately for England, Colombia also play in yellow.

*Jamie Wilson*

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# Irvine p end to courtro domina

Clare Dyer
Legal Correspondent

FOUR of the country's top judges are to be stripped of their powers to decide who should argue cases before them in court in a move by the Lord Chancellor to end restrictive practices in the legal profession.

Solicitors are to be given the same rights as barristers to conduct cases in the higher courts, and Crown Prosecution Service lawyers will be able to prosecute their own cases, instead of having to hire lawyers in private practice.

Lord Irvine decided to act following legislation in 1990 to open the higher courts to solicitors and bring down costs by competition — which proved an abysmal failure. Lord Mackay, the previous Lord Chancellor, intended to put barristers and solicitors on the same footing and open the courts to CPS lawyers, but opposition from the Bar and judges forced a compromise.

This set up a cumbersome process whereby any of the four senior judges — the Master of the Rolls, Lord Chief Justice, Vice-Chancellor, and President of the High Court's Family Division — could block non-barristers seeking the right to appear in the higher courts. Solicitors eventually won approval but have had to go through such hoops to qualify that only 634 solicitors, from more than 70,000, have made it so far.

The judges and the Lord



Lord Chancellor Irvine: ending restrictive practices

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Analysis, page 14

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# Irvine puts end to Bar's courtroom dominance

Clare Dyer
Legal Correspondent

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The judges and the Lord Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Legal Education and Conduct (ACLEC), set up as part of the compromise, also blocked CPS solicitors from conducting trials in the crown court, except as juniors to lawyers in private practice. Lord Irvine said yesterday that the committee would be abolished, though he blamed its obstructiveness on the existing system.

He also said there were still aspects of the legal profession that stifled innovation, limiting consumer choice and increasing the expense of going to law. "One particular example is the restriction on the right to appear in the higher courts as an advocate. The public often complain that they are required to hire two lawyers where one would do. Any restrictions which inhibit access to justice have no place in modern Britain."

Barristers and solicitors on the staff of the CPS, Serious Fraud Office, government departments, local councils and companies, will now have the right to argue their own cases in the higher courts.

Lord Irvine said it would probably strike most people as "bizarre" that crown prosecutors who prepared criminal cases could not see them through the crown court. "The Government does not accept the arguments that it is improper, dangerous or unconstitutional for crown prosecutors to have such rights."

Dismissing the Bar's argument that only those in private practice had the necessary independence, Lord Irvine said: "If, as has been claimed, it is wrong in principle for someone to be prosecuted by an employed lawyer, how is it that we tolerate this practice in magistrates courts, where over 95 per cent of criminal cases are tried?"

The Law Society, which represents solicitors, "warmly welcomed" the Lord Chancellor's proposals. And the Bar's chairman, Heather Hallett QC, said she did not object to the change, but added: "We need to be very careful not to give too great a control of the prosecution system to the state." For the CPS, Dame Barbara Mills, director of public prosecutions, said she was delighted CPS solicitors and barristers would appear in the crown court.



Lord Chancellor Irvine: ending restrictive practices



Moving on to the past . . . Pensioners Daphne and Roger Manning go about town PHOTOGRAPH: PHILIP REES

# Couple retire to life Victorian style

Martin Wainwright

A COUPLE of pensioners have taken retirement to unusual lengths, by starting a new life set at the end of the 19th century.

The couple have moved from Birmingham to the Victorian ambience of Llandrindod Wells, Powys. "It's become an obsession," said Roger Manning, aged 65, who gave up art teaching three months ago, at the same time as Mrs Manning ended her nursing career.

The idea took root when they visited the Welsh spa town at the time of its annual Victorian festival "and were greatly impressed by local people parading about dressed up."

The Mannings have turned the event into a year-round affair, pottering about in crinolines, talls, spats, top hat and a purple mourning suit edged with lace in honour of the late Prince Consort.

Even their complex underwear goes on show at lectures they give on the Victorian period and costume.

Mrs Manning, who takes nearly an hour to rig herself out in whalebone corset, bustle, pantaloons and other defences, said: "Things have grown since we started off with clothes borrowed from a local operatic society . . . It's amazing how cheaply you can snap things up at antique fairs."

The Mannings get constant questions from passers-by, like "how did they go to the toilet?"

## News in brief

### Top detective to lead racial reforms

ONE of Scotland Yard's most experienced detectives has been appointed to shake up the Metropolitan police's investigation of racist and violent crime in the wake of the shortcomings revealed by the Stephen Lawrence inquiry, it was announced yesterday. Deputy Assistant Commissioner John Grieve, who is now head of the Anti-Terrorist Branch, has been appointed director of racial and violent crime.

The move means Mr Grieve has withdrawn from the short list for deputy chief constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary. Mr Grieve's task "will be to build on the improvements made since 1983, to take account of the lessons to be learned from part one of the Lawrence inquiry and to respond to recommendations from part two". Part two of the inquiry will look at police investigation of racial crime in general, and will take evidence across the country.

### Gay teenager's court win

A GAY teenager has won the right to be placed with gay foster carers. His two-year battle over the issue ended yesterday when a High Court judge was told a London council's social services department had at last agreed to his request.

Fifteen-year-old H, who cannot be named for legal reasons, had launched a legal challenge against Wandsworth council in south-west London. But his application for judicial review was withdrawn yesterday before Mr Justice Cazalet after the council indicated it would now comply with his request.

H, whose ambition is to become an "all-singing, all-dancing" performing artist, said afterwards: "I am really happy."

### CVs economical with truth

ONE PERSON in four tells lies on their CV in an effort to persuade employers to take them on, a new survey has revealed. Applicants are most likely to be dishonest about qualifications or career gaps and some even change their identity.

Michael Maule, of the Association of Search and Selection Consultants (ASSC), said that some of the cases uncovered by ASSC members have revealed bankruptcy, county court judgments and previous dismissal due to fraud.

### Methodists go for unity

THE Methodists voted overwhelmingly at their annual conference in Scarborough yesterday in favour of entering into formal talks with the Church of England with a view to eventual union.

The Methodists' enthusiasm — only three people voted against the motion out of 387 delegates — has suprised many, given the collapse of previous attempts at unity between the two denominations in 1969 and 1972. The Church of England's General Synod agreed to enter formal talks last November. Talks are due to begin in February 1999. — *Madeleine Bunting*

### Irvine gets lawyers' vote

THE Lord Chancellor, Lord Irvine, has beaten Senator George Mitchell, architect of the Northern Ireland peace settlement and a US lawyer, to become Legal Personality of the Year, it was announced last night. Lord Irvine was the favourite of the 60,000 readers of the Lawyer magazine, narrowly beating Mr Mitchell and Kamlesh Bahl, head of the Equal Opportunities Commission.

### Not such a bleak outlook

ONE OF Britain's most celebrated literary addresses, Bleak House at Broadstairs, Kent, has been put on the market for more than £1 million. The 27-roomed home, built in 1701, was home for 20 years to Charles Dickens and the place where he wrote David Copperfield and part of Bleak House, his nickname for the house in Fort Road, overlooking Broadstairs harbour.

The house, which has eight bedrooms and contains a smugglers' museum and a Dickens museum, is being sold by former chef Louis Longhi, who has lived there with his wife and children for 21 years. More than 25,000 people make the pilgrimage to Bleak House each year.

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Academics urge debate on trade in human organs

# Medical challenge to kidney sales ban

Sarah Boseley
Health Correspondent

A GROUP of academics in medical ethics challenged a long-standing taboo yesterday by calling for the sale of human kidneys to be made legal.

There was uproar in the mid-1980s when two doctors in the UK were found to be paying young Turkish men to donate a kidney to rich patients in the West. In an article in the Lancet today, Robert Sells, of the renal transplant unit at the Royal Liverpool university hospital, Ian Kennedy, of the faculty of law at King's College, London, and others, argued that we should suppress our horror at the concept and think again about the ban that resulted from the Turkish case.

At the time, all professional associations denounced kidney sales by live vendors and nearly all countries hadmade it illegal.

"Such political and professional unanimity may seem to leave no room for further debate, but we nevertheless think it important to reopen the discussion," they wrote.

There was a serious shortage of donor kidneys, which caused suffering and death. "Most people will recognise in themselves the feelings of outrage and disgust that led to an outright ban on kidney sales ... Nevertheless, if we are to deny treatment to the suffering and dying we need better reasons than our own feelings of disgust."

The ban sought to protect the exploited, they said. Yet those who were anxious to sell saw it as their best option. Refusing to allow them to sell made their lives worse than before. They had few options in life, and withdrawing the choice of selling a kidney removed another one.

If the would-be vendor was too uneducated to understand the choice, he should be given information and counselling, the authors argued.

> 'To deny treatment to the dying we need better reasons than feelings of disgust'

There might be worries that he would be underpaid, cheated or not be in sufficiently good health because of his poverty to undergo the operation. "The best way to address such problems would be by regulation and perhaps a central purchasing system, to provide screening, counselling, reliable payment, insurance and financial advice."

It was easier to put screening systems in place than to police a ban, they argue. Recently, there had been stories of kidneys being offered for sale on the Internet.

The doctors behind the article, all members of the International Forum for Transplant Ethics, said both the impoverished person who sold a kidney and the person who needed a kidney to survive werein a dire position. "Even if vendors and recipients would always be at risk of exploitation, that does not alter the fact that if they choose this option, all alternatives must seem worse to them.

"Trying to end exploitation by prohibition is rather like ending slum dwelling by bulldozing slums: it ends the evil in that form, but only by making things worse for the victims."

It was argued that it was unfair for rich kidney patients to have benefits not available to those who could not afford to pay for them, the authors said. But this argument was irrelevant to the issue of organ selling per se. "If organ selling is wrong for this reason, so are all benefits available to the rich, including all private medicine."

The arguments against the sale of kidneys did not hold water, they said. Until better ones appeared, "the presumption must be that the trade should be regulated rather than banned.

"Feelings of repugnance among the rich and healthy, no matter how strongly felt, cannot justify removing the only hope of the destitute and dying. This is why we conclude that the issue should be considered again, and with scrupulous impartiality."



The Queen takes a look at her wedding photographs after officially opening the British Library in London yesterday PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN STILLWELL

## Queen finds British Library 'remarkable' and orders a safe book

John Ezard

THE Queen ordered up one of the 12 million books in the new British Library yesterday — and, there on page 578, was a remark attributed to her about Diana. "Bulimics rewrite history in 24 hours," she is said to have said "out of a deep exasperation" after the Panorama interview.

When she opened the £512 million library, the biggest built in Britain this century, it was logical that she should test its vaunted book-ordering system. The question was: which book?

Obviously it should be something royal. However, any text by Andrew Morton was out of the question. So was Jonathan Dimbleby's The Prince of Wales: Charles has said the building looks like "an assembly hall of an academy for secret policemen".

Then staff remembered that the historian Ben Pimlott is one of their most regular users. His generally loyalist 1996 biography, The Queen, was an apt solution.

The system worked magnificently, delivering it to the Queen in 10 minutes instead of the target 30. This was because no other readers were allowed to use the system. If they had been, it would have taken 40-45 minutes. "It wasn't really a fair test," a library spokeswoman said.

After meeting Prof Pimlott and his fellow library users P D James, Margaret Drabble, Harold Pinter and Lady Antonia Fraser, the Queen found a safe word for the building itself: "remarkable".

# Fewer children getting MMR jab

Sarah Boseley
Health correspondent

THE first hard evidence that fewer parents are having their children immunised with the MMR vaccine was published yesterday in a report predicting outbreaks of measles and rubella if the trend continues.

It follows research published in February by doctors at the Royal Free hospital, west London, on children with autism who also had bowel disease and whose symptoms appeared around the time of their MMR jab. The doctors had earlier suggested a link between the vaccination and the chronic bowel disorder Crohn's disease.

Research in Wales by the Public Health Laboratory Service, published in the Lancet today, found a steady decline in MMR uptake since 1995. In children aged 15-17 months and due for immunisation in the first three months of this year, 73.2 per cent had been vaccinated, a drop of 4.1 per cent on the same period last year.

The biggest drop, from 83.1 to 69.6 per cent, occurred in an area "in which MMR immunisation had received sustained adverse publicity through the local media," said Daniel Thomas and colleagues of the PHLS.

They calculated that only 85 per cent of children now aged 15-17 months will have been vaccinated by the age of two.

Only if 94-96 per cent of children were vaccinated could measles be eliminated, they said. If the fall in uptake of first MMR continued, and children who were not immunised failed to receive a preschool dose, recommended since 1996, "cases of measles and of congenital rubella syndrome can be expected."

If no more than 80 per cent of children are vaccinated against rubella, the programme is no more effective than the old policy of immunising 12-year-old girls. Before that was changed in 1988 there were 20-80 cases a year of congenital rubella syndrome, and many more pregnancies were terminated because of the risk of rubella damaging the foetus.


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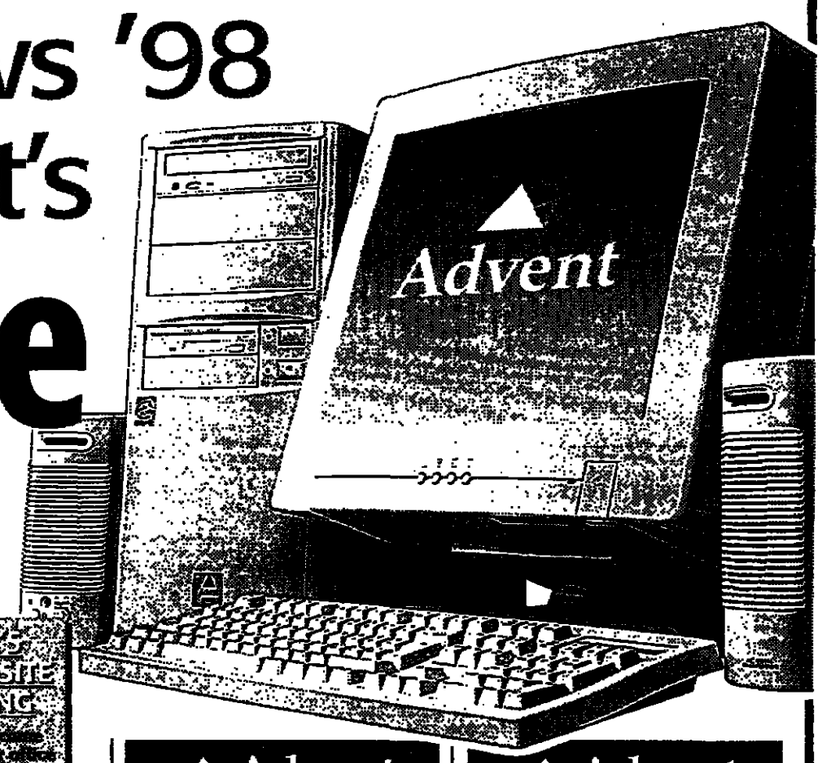
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صكاك الاجل

The Guardian Friday June

A band of racists and xenophobes, or politicians responding to a deeper insecurity? **Martin Woollacott** takes the temperature in Maryborough in Queensland, where the electoral success of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party has shaken the old political certainties

# One N

JOHN KINGSTON, the successful candidate for the One Nation Party in the Queensland town of Maryborough, has two shocky young dogs, one called Red and the other Blue from the colour of their coats. Red is a friendly woofer, but Blue's nature is less clear, and he has to be kept chained lest he strays too far from home.

The doctor's dogs are like the new party which has just burst on a surprised Australia and which he will soon start representing, along with 10 other One Nation members, in the state parliament in Brisbane.

On the one hand there are the forces of ordinary interest and small town parochialism, suddenly become very demanding, but at bottom decent and sensible. On the other, there are dubious and worrying things — racial talk about Asians and Aboriginees, demands for economic protection without thought of the consequences, and a conspiratorial view of the world in which ordinary Australians are cast as unique victims.

From the air, Maryborough offers a diagram of prosperity. There is an outer circle of afforested hill and plain, an inner area of sugar plantations and farms from Maryborough itself, with the sheds of the famous heavy engineering firm Walkers, which is making Australia's tilt train, spacious tree-lined roads with fine wooden houses in large gardens, and a cluster of preserved Edwardian buildings by the Mary River. It seems an enviable place


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A band of racists and xenophobes, or politicians responding to a deeper insecurity? **Martin Woollacott** takes the temperature in Maryborough in Queensland, where the electoral success of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party has shaken the old political certainties



Sheep by the Matilda Highway in the Queensland Outback. One Nation's success has changed the political landscape PHOTOGRAPH: SIMON GROSSET

# One Nation's bark and bite

JOHN KINGSTON, the succesful candidate for the One Nation Party in the Queensland town of Maryborough, has two stocky young dogs, one called Red and the other Blue, from the colour of their coats. Red is a friendly woofer, but Blue's nature is less clear, and he has to be kept chained lest he strays too far from home.

The doctor's dogs are like the new party which has just burst on a surprised Australia and which he will soon start representing, along with 10 other One Nation members, in the state parliament in Brisbane.

On the one hand there are the forces of country interest and small town patriotism, suddenly become very demanding, but at bottom decent and sensible. On the other, there are dubious and worrying things — racial talk about Asians and Aborigines, demands for economic protection without thought of the consequences, and a conspiratorial view of the world in which ordinary Australians are cast as unique victims.

From the air, Maryborough offers a diagram of prosperity. There is an outer circle of afforested hill and plain, an inner area of sugar plantations and farms, then Maryborough itself, with the sheds of the famous heavy engineering firm Walkers, which is making Australia's tilt train, spacious tree-lined roads with fine wooden houses in large gardens, and a cluster of preserved Edwardian buildings by the Mary River. It seems an enviable place.

Yet among Maryborough's 23,000 people, and those who live in the surrounding countryside, there is an epidemic of insecurity and anger. It is from towns like this that One Nation has launched its challenge to the Australian political system.

The prime minister, John Howard, is due in the town today as part of what has been called a "panic tour" of the Queensland seats where One Nation triumphed at the expense of the two conservative parties which govern Australia in coalition. Thanks to the upset One Nation brought, the same coalition has just been dislaced by Labour as the government of Queensland.

You will get no racial talk from Dr Kingston, a compact and energetic man of 61, a veterinarian and an agricultural consultant who has spent years working on aid projects in Asia and the Pacific islands. From an old Maryborough family, he made a second marriage to a Lao wife, and has two adolescent Lao stepchildren. One of his secretaries is Aborigine. He was the guest of honour at the ball Maryborough Filipinos held to celebrate the 100th anniversary of independence.

He is insistent that Maryborough should cultivate and expand its links with Asia.

"Originally, yes, there were racists," he said. "I think most of them have gone. Any new radical party is going to attract some people you don't want."

By this he means that some of the anti-Semites and outright neo-Nazis on the fringes have been pushed away. But he does not tackle the question of whether the attitude towards Aborigines and Asians One Nation has championed is itself racist.

It is an article of faith among its supporters that aboriginal funding and Asian immigration are not "racist" issues. The first, they explain, is about a welfare system out of control, the second about employment.

Dr Kingston's first subject is not race, but his own town. He is remorselessly comprehensive about its problems.

He touches on the jobs lost as the town's main industries contracted and modernised, the row over moving hospital facilities to another town, the abattoir that closed, the cuts in public services.

"There aren't enough jobs for our young people. Those who do get jobs often get part-time jobs and then they can't get mortgages to buy homes. In fact, youth is our biggest export. That causes a lot of anguish in a small town like this."

Behind the success of One Nation in Maryborough lies, in part, a story of a tired local establishment under attack from younger and more energetic men and women bent on revitalising the town.

Touring Maryborough with Chris Loft, an accountant who is one of Dr Kingston's friends and allies, is an exercise in boosterism. As we pass restaurants or hotels just taken over by newcomers he nods approvingly.

"They're goers," he says. The councillors, he implies, are not "goers".

Pausing before the bill of fare at one verandahed restaurant, he flicks a finger at the item "Rissoles $6.50". Maryborough is not going to bring in the visitors by offering prehistoric fodder of this kind, he suggests.

Yet One Nation has split Maryborough, and split it between the races, the classes, and the generations. Dennis Shield, a big man in his fifties, drives a taxi around the town. He is full of admiration for Ms Hanson, full of denials that she is racist, full of denunciations of established politicians.

It has put him at odds with his daughter, a schoolteacher. "Schoolteachers hate Pauline," he says.

Critical views on Aborigines are easily found, sometimes relatively sophisticated arguments about welfare dependency, sometimes simply derogatory and hostile. An aboriginal leader who refused an interview because it would "build up Pauline Hanson's profile" hissed down the phone: "I know the people who voted for One Nation in Maryborough, and they are not fair-minded people."

One Nation in Maryborough is about both rissoles and race, about a small town's pride and its anxieties. But whether it is Red's bark or Blue's bite that Australia is about to experience nobody yet knows.

## Independent puts Labour in power

THE Australian right's intense flirtation with the new One Nation Party in Queensland ended yesterday when an independent state MP in effect handed power to the Labour Party, giving it the extra vote it needs to form a viable minority government, *writes Martin Woollacott.*

The National Party premier, Ron Borbidge, had been trying for two weeks to stay in power with the support of the 11 One Nation members and two independents, in spite of the disapproval of some prominent conservatives, including the former prime minister Malcolm Fraser.

At state and federal level the impact of One Nation's success in Queensland continues. The new Queensland Labour leader, Peter Beattie, won Wellington's support with pledges to hold "community cabinet meetings" all over the state, and to be a "listening government".

John Howard, the federal prime minister and leader of the Liberals, the senior party in the conservative coalition which rules Australia, is touring Queensland, holding meetings billed as "John Howard Listens".

The charge that mainstream politicians are not listening to ordinary people was one of the slogans that carried One Nation to its surprising victories in the state elections almost three weeks ago.

Deciding who governs in Queensland does not even begin to end the dilemma of what to do about One Nation and the huge seam of popular support it has uncovered.

In Queensland, the question now will be to what extent the established conservative parties, the National Party and the Liberals, cooperate with One Nation in opposition and how far they amend their polices to suit its agenda.

Nationally, the conservative parties have hard choices to make: to repudiate One Nation as a deluded and racist party, to take over some of its populist agenda, or to deal with it as a potential partner after the federal elections, due within nine months.

Labour is also threatened. Its leader, Kim Beazley, could lose his seat to One Nation if an election comes soon and the party could end up with fewer votes than it needs to govern.

# Pulp friction splits stars who sued for indecent proposal

Christopher Reed in Los Angeles

HOLLYWOOD'S highest paid acting couple, Demi Moore and Bruce Willis, say they are parting one year after successfully suing two publications which reported that they were separating.

The tabloid press in America has for months run sensational articles and photographs about the couple's troubles.

Moore, who starred in Striptease last year, was pictured dancing without her bra on the table of a Los Angeles nightclub in the early hours, when Willis was in Chicago. The couple protested about photographs in the National Enquirer of Leonardo di Caprio, who starred in Titanic, leaving the couple's Malibu beach-house when Willis was again away.

Last year they sued the Star tabloid and an Australian magazine. They settled out of court for an undisclosed sum over articles suggesting their marriage was over.

The couple have been sued by their former nanny over alleged bad treatment.

Willis, aged 43, is one of the highest paid actors in Hollywood at £15.3 million and Moore, aged 35, gets about half that for each film. The couple have been married for 11 years; it was her second marriage and his first. They have three daughters aged nine, seven, and six.

No divorce papers have yet been filed and their publicist, who announced the forthcoming split, was not answering questions about their children's future.

Moore left school at 16, began modelling, and at 20 landed a part in General Hospital, the soap opera. In 1981 she appeared in her first film, Choices, about a deaf teenager's attempts to overcome disability. She made seven films in the next four years, but had to wait until 1990 for acclaim in the surprise hit Ghost, with Whoopi Goldberg.

Moore underwent breast enhancement surgery and became a minor sensation in 1993 in Indecent Proposal. Moore and Woody Harrelson played a destitute couple who accept $1 million from a rich gambler, Robert Redford, for Moore to spend one night with him. Feminists protested and the film received poor notices, but established Moore as a major star.

She then shaved her head for GI Jane and did her own stunts as a female soldier, before going on to Striptease, a flop.

Willis first attracted attention as an off-Broadway stage actor in Sam Shepard's Fool In Love. He began in television in the Moonlighting series and won an Emmy in 1987 before starring in the Die Hard action films. He won critical praise for his part in Pulp Fiction and appears in this summer's second asteroid-hits-earth blockbuster, Armageddon.



Bruce Willis and Demi Moore are separating after 11 years of marriage and months of sensational stories about them


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| £25,000+ | 6.80% | 5.44% | 6.60% | 5.28% |
| £10,000+ | 6.70% | 5.36% | 6.51% | 5.20% |
| £5,000+ | 6.60% | 5.28% | 6.41% | 5.12% |
| Up to £5,000 | 6.50% | 5.20% | 6.32% | 5.05% |

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|---|---|---|
| £100,000+ | 6.79% | 5.43% |
| £50,000+ | 6.70% | 5.36% |
| £25,000+ | 6.60% | 5.28% |
| £10,000+ | 6.51% | 5.20% |
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## News in brief

### Recently returned Algerian singer assassinated

THE popular Algerian singer, Lounes Matoub, who survived an earlier kidnapping by Muslim militants and only recently returned from exile, was killed near his Berber home yesterday.

It was the latest assassination of an Algerian artist during six years of violence that has left more than 75,000 people dead.

Matoub, aged 42, who like other Berbers fiercely criticised both the military-backed government and Muslim militants, was killed outside the village of Oued Aissi, near the Berber regional capital of Tizi-Ouzou in eastern Algeria.

Living in exile in France since his 1994 kidnapping, Matoub only returned to Algeria this month. The militants have killed other singers, including Cheb Hasni, as well as intellectuals.

Algerian state radio said only that Matoub was "assassinated" in a cowardly manner, without giving details. A spokeswoman for Triomphe records in Paris, which represents Matoub, said the singer was killed as he drove out of the village.

Matoub was kidnapped on September 25, 1994 by the Armed Islamic Group. He was freed two weeks later with a letter from the group, demanding the Berbers support the militants. — AP.

### Foul-smelling flower is fêted

A RARE 5ft tall flower with a foul odour has bloomed in Miami's Fairchild Tropical Garden, where the smell was so bad the security guard wore a gas mask.

The titan arum, which opened fully yesterday, is only the sixth to bloom in the United States this century. Two years ago, a titan arum that bloomed in London's Kew Gardens gave off a stink described as a mixture of rotting flesh, burning sugar and ammonia.

The titan arum is known as the "corpse flower" in its natural environment, the rainforests of Sumatra, Indonesia. — AP.

### Middle East swap deal

Hizbullah guerrillas yesterday handed over to the Lebanese army the remains of at least three Israeli soldiers in exchange for the corpses of Lebanese guerrillas and the release of prisoners.

The Hizbullah leader, Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, said the remains of 40 Lebanese guerrillas would arrive in Beirut last night and 60 prisoners would return home today. — *Reuters.*

### Florida fires

Rescue teams began evacuating about 200 homes in the Daytona Beach area yesterday that are threatened by fires raging across central Florida, officials said. — *AP.*

### Stadium collapse

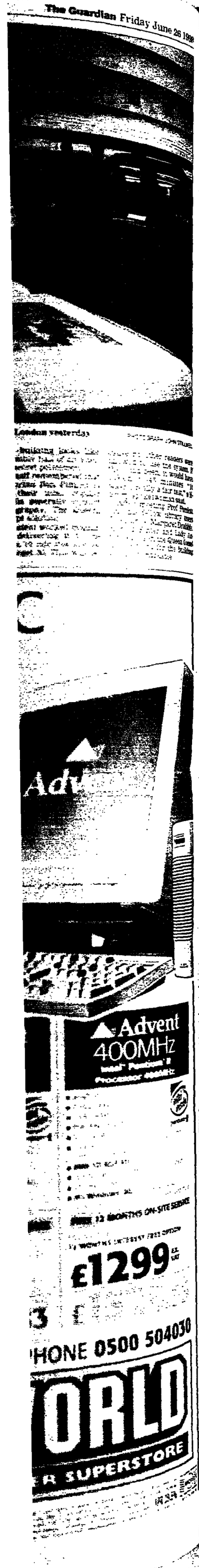
A balcony holding more than 100 spectators, mostly children, collapsed yesterday in a sports stadium in southern Russia, killing 28 people and injuring 39, officials said. — *AP.*


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There's always someone worth listening to at Glastonbury.



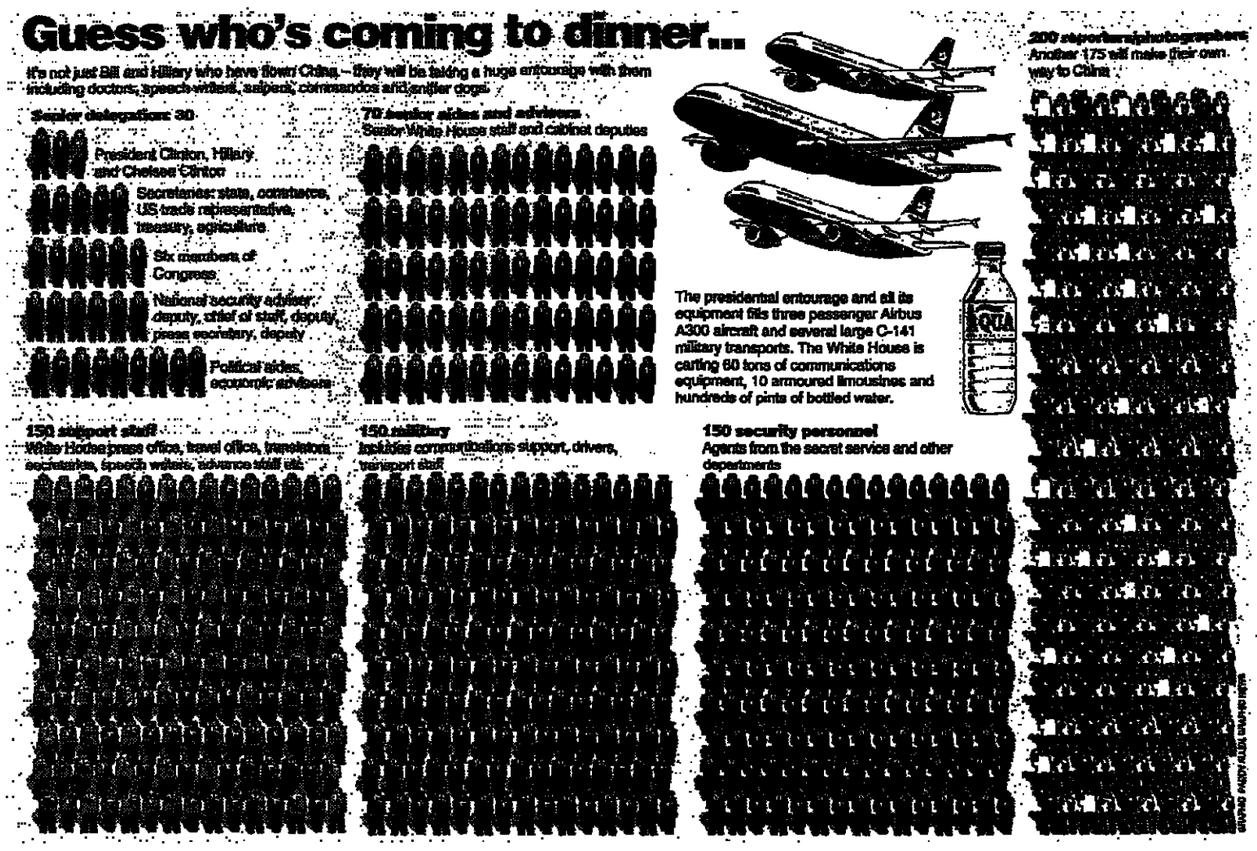
For all the latest news and information from the Festival site, tune into Radio Avalon on 87.7 Fm.

# White House packs everything but the kitchen sink (they're carrying bottled water instead)

## Guess who's coming to dinner...

It's not just Bill and Hillary who have flown China – they will be taking a huge entourage with them including doctors, speech-writers, snipers, commandos and counter-spy dogs




The presidential entourage and all its equipment fills three passenger Airbus A300 aircraft and several large C-141 military transports. The White House is carting 60 tons of communications equipment, 10 armoured limousines and hundreds of pints of bottled water.



A military policeman inspects a comrade during a drill yesterday outside the Forbidden City in Beijing. President Clinton is to visit the complex on Sunday PHOTOGRAPH: GREG BAKER

# Cast of 1,000 sets stage for Chinese tour

**John Broder** in Washington reports on the presidential entourage and its tons of paraphernalia

THIS is no ordinary circus. The horde accompanying President Bill Clinton to China numbers more than 1,000 people and includes a blue goose, a presidential seal and a pair of road runners.

The presidential entourage and its paraphernalia fill three passenger planes and several C-141 military transports. The White House is carting 60 tons of communications gear, as many as 10 armoured limousines, and enough bottled water to ensure that the president and First Lady will not have to open a tap to bathe in the luxurious guest-houses and five-star hotels in which they are staying during their nine-day trip.

The swarm includes six members of Congress, five cabinet officers with their own retinues, a chief of staff and a deputy chief of staff, a national security adviser and a deputy national security adviser, a press secretary and a deputy press secretary. Five stenographers. Two White House television crews. A valet for the president and a hairdresser for Mrs Clinton. The president's private secretary and the White House staff secretary. Speech writers and rewriters, doctors and lawyers, 375 reporters and photographers. Snipers, commandos and bomb-sniffing dogs. And countless lords a-leaping.

"We're moving the White House to China," a senior White House advance agent said.

Well, almost.

"Rumours that he is bringing all his own furniture from the United States aren't true at all," said Zhang Tianping, the public relations manager at the Diaoyutai state guest-house in Beijing.

But Mr Clinton has taken his bulletproof lectern, known as the blue goose, and the closely guarded carved presidential seal that adorns it. The White House has flown in at least two road runners, the sinister-looking black secure communications vans that accompany a presidential motorcade. And, as always, Mr Clinton is being tailed by Kris Engskov, his personal aide and briefcase carrier.

All this for a summit meeting in Beijing and postcard visits to four other cities that even the White House says are expected to yield few concrete results.

Chinese officials and US diplomats in China are appalled and amused. A bewildered senior American in Beijing said he had been told to expect 1,200 people.

That may not be far off. White House advance agents have rented 350 cars in Shanghai alone.

When Richard Nixon made his historic journey to Beijing in February 1972, he was accompanied by 300 people. The official party numbered 34, and only 87 members of the press were allowed to cover the visit. The White House and the American media wanted to send at least twice as many people, while the Chinese demanded far fewer. They agreed on 300 after weeks of bargaining.

"By today's standards, it was a modest group, but the Chinese were shocked by the huge horde of people coming, both White House staff and the numbers of press we requested," said Winston Lord, an aide to Henry Kissinger at the time and later ambassador to China.

The shock to the Chinese had worn off a bit when Gerald Ford visited Beijing in December 1975. Records from the Ford library indicate that the contingent had grown to about 450 people, including 170 journalists.

The trip was less newsworthy than Nixon's, but in those years, for most American news organisations, it was a rare opportunity to get into China.

By the time of Ronald Reagan's visit to Beijing, Xian and Shanghai in April 1984, the travelling party had grown to almost 600 and included several Hollywood stage managers brought in by the White House to ensure photogenic coverage. The press corps numbered 260.

George Bush's 40-hour visit to Beijing in February 1989 was a hastily arranged trip tacked on to his journey to Japan for the funeral of Emperor Hirohito. Records indicate the travelling party was about 500.

John Podesta, the White House deputy chief of staff co-ordinating the Clinton visit, said no to scores of officials who wanted to make the passage.

He said a decision had been made not to invite business executives.

The secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, flew in with the president. The treasury secretary, Robert Rubin, the trade representative, Charlene Barshefsky, the commerce secretary, William Daley, and the agriculture secretary, Dan Glickman, are also accompanying him.

Counting deputies, aides and support people, the official party numbers 100.

White House officials say it is impossible to calculate in advance the overall cost of the trip because the expenses are paid by several government agencies and because bills will arrive for months. But for a sense of scale, news organisations were advised that each accredited reporter could expect to pay £9,400. — *New York Times.*

> 'Rumours that Mr Clinton is bringing all of his own furniture from the United States aren't true at all'

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Beneath the host city's charade of openness, a culture of repression stifles opposing views



Actors in traditional costume greet the Clintons during a welcoming ceremony yesterday at the south gate of Xian's old walled city, as the president's nine-day, five-city visit to China began PHOTOGRAPH: PAT BENIC

# Police block contact with dissident

**John Gittings** scuffles with security officers in Xian when he tries to meet an 'upright official' who refuses to be silenced

CHINESE security officials have ensured that human rights will remain a source of contention during the Clinton visit by taking heavy-handed action against critics of the Beijing regime even as the president was on his way to Xian.

A former government official in Xian, Lin Mu, well known for his advocacy of political reform, was barred from receiving visitors yesterday. The Guardian's attempt to pay a quiet visit to his home was frustrated by half a dozen plainclothes police.

It was a journey that quickly exposed the limits of Beijing's tolerance of dissidents. An unmarked black car stuck close to my taxi through the morning rush hour of Xian and plainclothes police were waiting at the gate as I tried to enter. Forced to leave the car, I walked quickly into the compound but was soon surrounded by a group of people tugging at my clothes and demanding to know my identity.

They were sharp-faced and agitated, wearing the anonymous uniform of loose trousers and white shirt. "You would not just walk into the house of the British prime minister, would you?" asked one accusingly.

Back at the main gate, I was shoved to one side when the distinguished man I was trying to visit emerged, furious at the news of my detention. He denounced one policeman he knew by name to the gathering crowd in this side street in the city's south.

"It is my right under the constitution to entertain guests," he shouted. "Calm down, old Lin," another policeman said contemptuously.

I was told I had to register as a visitor before I could see Mr Lin. On trying to register, I was told that according to unspecified "regulations", no visit could be made. The argument that Mr Lin was entitled to speak freely to a foreign journalist because China had now opened up did not impress a Mr Han — the only policeman willing to show his identity card.

"Yes, China is an open country," he said. "But openness has its limits."

It was a stalemate: I walked away slowly and considered what I had seen. For many Chinese it was an everyday incident, but it provides a sobering counterpoint to assertions that China's human rights policy will improve if the regime is left to its own devices.

Two dissidents in the Xian area were reported to have been sequestered by the police the previous day. They were taken to separate hotels, presumably to ensure they could not be contacted by foreign journalists.

Mr Lin is a former Communist Party official who has petitioned the government urging reform. He was dismissed from the party for supporting the student movement in 1989 and is still a free citizen.

Last month Mr Lin and 11 other critics of the regime sent an open letter to the National People's Congress calling for the release of Zhao Ziyang, the party secretary-general who was ousted after opposing military action in Tiananmen Square.

One of the men detained on Wednesday signed a letter urging Mr Clinton to meet Mr Zhao while in Beijing.

It is beginning to look as though any reference to Mr Zhao, whose job was appropriated by Jiang Zemin — now China's president — touches a highly neuralgic nerve in Beijing.

Mr Lin belongs to the same tradition as Mr Zhao of "upright officials" who refuse to be silenced. Before the Cultural Revolution he worked for Hu Yaobang who, as party secretary-general in the 1980s, encouraged talk of political reform. Mr Hu was ousted by hardliners and his death sparked the 1989 democracy movement.

Last year Mr Lin issued a manifesto appealing to the leadership to tackle corruption, release political prisoners and begin a transition towards multi-party democracy.

By doing so, he argued, the party would actually win back the trust of the people, and it would "retain the status of the ruling party in future democratic elections". The present rulers appear to have no intention of taking any such chance.

"It is only democracy and the rule of law that China can turn to," Mr Lin wrote, "not the cult of violence or the suppression of dissent." He said repression only aggravated social tensions, citing growing unemployment.

Most Chinese would regard the small scuffle at Mr Lin's gate yesterday as the norm. "This is just the way they behave," said one witness with contempt. "They go their way and we go ours."

Those responsible may be minor officials who are not used to national diplomacy. "Beijing is Beijing," one of the policemen said, "but this is Xian."

But they are part of a countrywide policy to stifle dissent during the American president's visit.

It is a paradox that Mr Lin is able to send messages and articles to the outside world — although his telephone was being tapped yesterday — but still may not be interviewed in his hometown.

## Opera cancelled after Shanghai song and dance

**Joe McDonald in Shanghai**

THE Lincoln Centre Festival '98 in New York has had to cancel its opening event, a 22-hour opera performed by a Shanghai company, because the Chinese censors have intervened. First they impounded the company's sets. Yesterday they offered to release the scenery, but refused to let the cast leave the country.

Nigel Redden, the festival director, had a bizarre, heated meeting with Chinese officials at Shanghai airport minutes before he was due to board a flight home.

He flew to Shanghai this week to negotiate after the Shanghai Kunqu Opera Company was barred from going to New York City to perform the Peony Pavilion. Officials said the opera, a love story written in 1598, was "feudal, superstitious and pornographic".

On Wednesday the Lincoln Centre cancelled the performance, which was due to open the festival on July 7. Spread over six evenings, the $500,000 production involves 21 people singing 150 roles.

Ma Bomin, director of the Shanghai Cultural Bureau, made it clear that her office did not have a specific complaint. "We haven't settled on the problem yet," she said.

The bureau, stung by public criticism, took the unusual step of inviting American reporters to a meeting with Mr Redden in an airport lounge.

Mr Redden said that in three days of talks the officials had failed to explain their complaints or respond to his offers to modify the opera.

When he returned from collecting his boarding pass and heard that Ms Ma wanted to continue talking, he said "We'll talk further", and tore his boarding pass to pieces.

But after a 10-minute exchange he turned to the reporters, gave them the thumbs down, and headed for his plane. — *AP.*

'It is only democracy and the rule of law that China can turn to, not the cult of violence or the suppression of dissent'

**Lin Mu**

'You would not just walk into the house of the British prime minister, would you?'

**Plainclothes policeman**

'Yes, China is an open country. But openness has its limits'

**Police Officer Han**

## 'Passionate president' welcomed

MANY ordinary Chinese are taking a positive view of the presidential visit despite not gaining directly, *writes John Gittings in Xian.*

Mr Clinton is welcome because he is such a prominent part of the American culture which fascinates almost everyone.

He and his family belong to a pantheon of familiar names which, according to a recent poll of urban Chinese, include Martin Luther King, Marlon Brando and Michael Jordan. A third of those polled knew Mr Clinton's age and more than half knew the date of his election. They also knew, the polling report added cautiously, that he has experienced "some problems at home".

A 300-page account of those difficulties, published under the title Passionate President Clinton, has now been banned from sale, but was probably about to sell out anyway.

A popular magazine devoted entirely to the American way of life is on many newsstands.

Recent issues carry features on how to get a US visa, the meaning of the word "romantic", the US house market, American theories of child rearing, and working from home, as well as tales of mass murder and cult suicide.

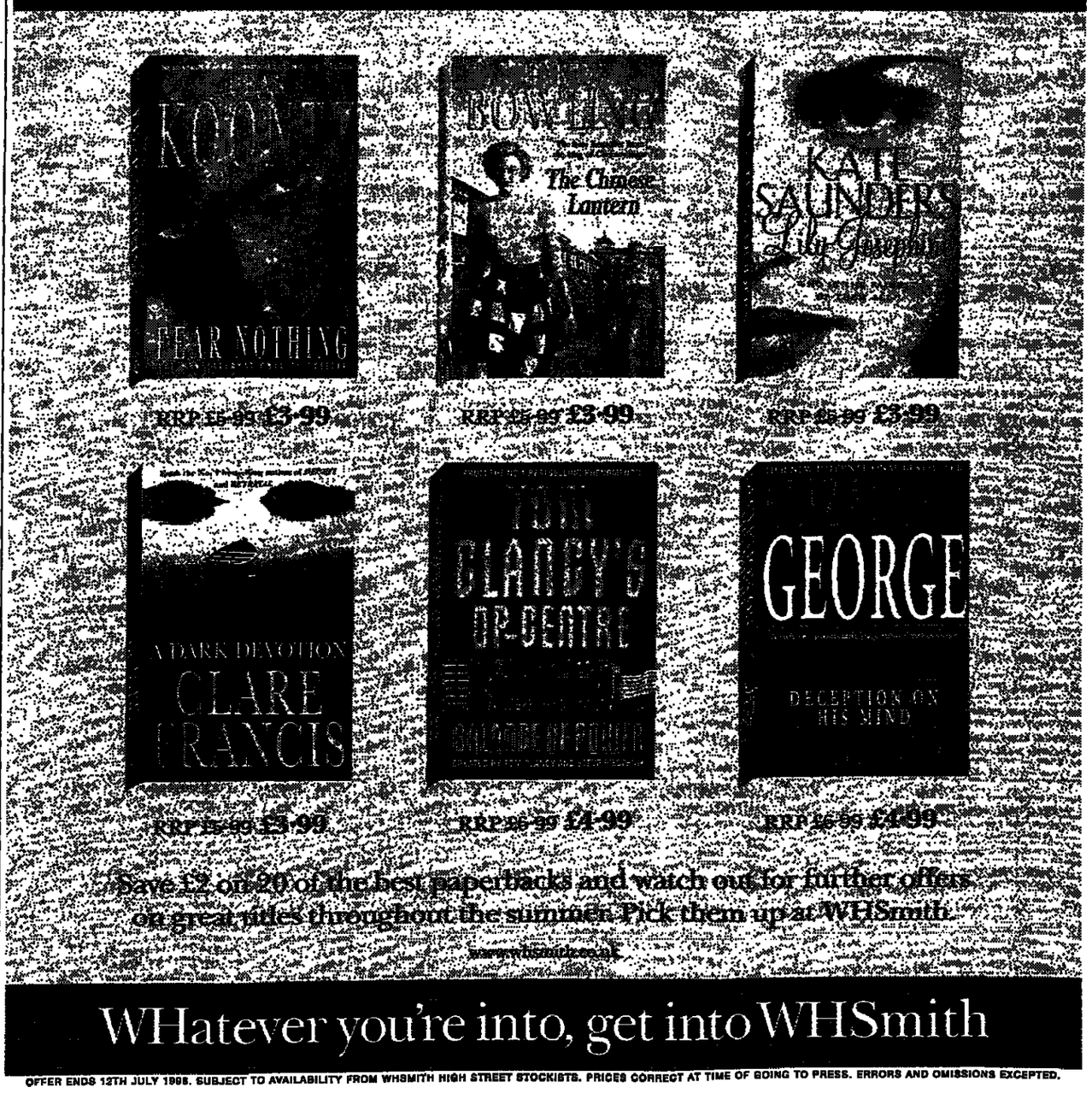
Young Chinese entrepreneurs who throng urban hotels with their mobile phones also welcomed the presidential arrival. "It's good for China," said one yesterday as he negotiated a deal with a new golf club. "I hope it will bring lots more US investment to my province."

He and others were much impressed by an interview in the Economic Daily with the US ambassador, James Sasser, who spoke with enthusiasm about trade.

**'For Blair, it is perfectly possible, for example, to be a Labour prime minister and use the office to privatise state industries'**
Decca Aitkenhead

**Comment, page 16**


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# Kosovan guerrillas celebrate Holbrooke visit

**Jonathan Steele** meets the shadowy leader of the army doing battle with Yugoslav security forces in his headquarters — a former Serbian police station



Members of the Kosovo Liberation Army take cover in Grabovac village near Pristina yesterday PHOTOGRAPH: WAYNE LOVELL

A BROAD smile creased the face of Sami Lushtaku, commander-in-chief of the once shadowy guerrilla forces which operate freely in large parts of the Serbian province of Kosovo in defiance of the Yugoslav army and police.

"We welcome it. We fully support Richard Holbrooke's meeting with the Kosovo Liberation Army," he said.

It was the day after Mr Holbrooke, the United States' Balkan trouble-shooter, spent an unexpected half-hour talking to two KLA representatives during a tour of western Kosovo.

The KLA's leading officer had no hesitation in seeing the encounter as a political boost. "We need respect for the KLA.

"We need to be acknowledged and given credit for our courage, as well as our losses and the blood we have shed," he said.

Mr Lushtaku, a founding member of the KLA, is a hero to many Kosovo Albanians and his name was chanted by demonstrators during daily protest marches in Pristina this spring.

He comes from Prekaz, the village which suffered the first Serb artillery attacks in March when several dozen people died, including women and children. By then he had already been in the KLA for six years.

His headquarters are in a former Serbian police station that commands a long view across the wooded region of Drenica. From here Mr Lushtaku, who is in his late thirties, talks by satellite phone to the forces in the Decan region, which has borne the brunt of the recent Serb offensive.

The Serbs' stated aim was to prevent arms-smuggling from Albania, but it amounted to "ethnic cleansing". The onslaught forced thousands of civilians out of the villages along the main road north and south of Decan, which runs parallel with the Albanian frontier.

"They're afraid of the border with Albania and want to clear the entire area. But we believe the KLA will force their retreat fairly soon," he said confidently. "We'll break the Berlin Wall again."

Likoc, the village chosen for the KLA's national headquarters, has been "liberated" for more than a month.



**The American envoy, Richard Holbrooke, (left) met members of the Kosovo Liberation Army, sending a signal to Slobodan Milosevic that the guerrillas cannot be dismissed as terrorists**

Piles of sandbags lie on the road to Likoc, leftovers of a checkpoint abandoned by Serbs in May after KLA gunmen took advantage of newly grown high grass to mount a powerful attack.

Now there are two KLA checkpoints instead. Likoc's shops are supplied by convoys of cars and tractors which ply the back roads to avoid Serb controls. Plastic jerry-cans of petrol are on sale in nearby villages. Cars have jettisoned their licence-plates "as a sign that the government's writ does not run here anymore", a local said.

Shops reject the Yugoslav dinar and trade only in German marks.

Mr Holbrooke's encounter with the KLA men on Wednesday in the village of Junik not far from the border with Albania was unplanned, according to the Americans. But the area is a known KLA stronghold and the two men, the writer Lum Haxhiu, aged 40, and the lawyer Gani Shehu, aged 30, have been interviewed previously by journalists.

Although Mr Holbrooke played down his brief session over coffee in the living room of a traditional Albanian house as "an unofficial meeting with armed men, some of whom were in uniform", it sent a clear signal to the Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, that they cannot be dismissed as "terrorists".

The meeting was also aimed at the Kosovo political leader, Ibrahim Rugova, who has tried to distance himself from the KLA.

Privately, many Kosovo politicians criticise Mr Rugova for naivety and lack of imagination. They believe the political wing of the independence movement must forge links with the KLA.

"Controlling the KLA is our biggest problem and we still don't have a solution," Fehmi Agani, co-ordinator of the Kosovan negotiating team, said this week.

"If it's not put under institutional control, the situation will become very dangerous and chaotic."

Mr Lushtaku was not willing to discuss politics with the Guardian but another KLA commander in Likoc agreed that "it was time to merge Kosovo's political and military structures". He said the KLA should be recognised as the official forces of the government of Kosovo, though, for sentimental reasons, it should retain the name KLA.

The commander criticised Mr Rugova for not visiting the war-torn areas and for his authoritarian touch in appointing a defence minister some months ago without consulting the KLA.

"Rugova is an obstacle to Kosovo's independence," he said. Even so, he added, the KLA would be willing to accept Mr Rugova as president provided that he changed his line on the KLA, and gave it credit.

# Austrian pact at odds over nuclear Nato

Stephen Bates in Vienna sees a row erupt at the start of the EU presidency

NATO'S nuclear policy has driven a wedge into Austria's coalition government, with Chancellor Victor Klima distancing himself from his conservative foreign minister yesterday, insisting that Austria will never join Nato unless it abandons the nuclear strike option.

His comments, stressing Austria's policy of neutrality, came a week before the country asserts itself on the international stage for the first time in nearly a century, when it takes over the six-month rolling presidency of the European Union from Britain.

The chancellor, a Social Democrat, told a weekly magazine: "Unless Nato changes substantially, there will be no entry. It still has a nuclear doctrine, still has the option of a nuclear first-strike and in the event of war we would have to station nuclear weapons on our territory, as well as foreign troops.

"We can do more for Austria's and Europe's security if we continue our current path."

Wolfgang Schussel, the foreign minister and leader of the Austrian People's Party, the junior partner in the government elected last year, argues that Austria should join Nato, as it joined the EU, to influence an organisation whose policies affect what happens within the country.

Austria's membership of the EU remains controversial with its citizens, but its forthcoming presidency is being touted as a chance to play a leading role in an international body for the first time since the collapse of the Hapsburg Empire at the end of the first world war.

Austria, whichjoined the EU with Sweden and Finland in 1995, has so far made little impression. Some EU officials question whether its government has the authority or experience of modern international affairs to make a success of the presidency.

But it will be just like old times in Vienna next week as the presidency is launched with glittering receptions and a gala concert. The city last hosted an international gathering of the heads of Europe at the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

Then the assembled 215 princes headed off a drive towards the unification of Europe and settled the continent's borders for the best part of a century.

This December, the EU's 15 heads of government could be said to have a similar agenda. The talk will be all about subsidiarity — allowing member states to take decisions at national level — and enlargement — settling on a new border for the EU in the Hapsburgs' old backyard of eastern Europe.

In 1815 Prince de Ligne viewed the nine months of nightly revels and famously said: "The Congress dances, but it doesn't work." The expectations of the presidency this time are also limited.

Once again Austria finds itself overshadowed by its northern neighbour. All key Eu developments are on hold until after the German elections at the end of September.

**It will be like old times in Vienna, which last played host to Europe's leaders in 1815**

That will leave little time for the Austrian government to assert itself on issues such as EU agricultural and institutional reform, or to push forward with enlargement.

There are indications that the Austrians are not keen to hasten EU expansion into neighbouring states such as the Czech Republic and Hungary, fearing that open borders will prompt a flood of economic migrants. But in Paris on Tuesday, Mr Schussel affirmed that Austria endorsed enlargement.

The spectre at the feast will be Jorg Haider, leader of the extreme rightwing and anti-EU Austrian Freedom Party.

Mr Haider, whose party commands about a quarter of the vote and is now the second largest group on Vienna's city council, is mired in a financial scandal, after colleague Peter Rosenstingl fled to Brazil with £30 million of party and public funds.


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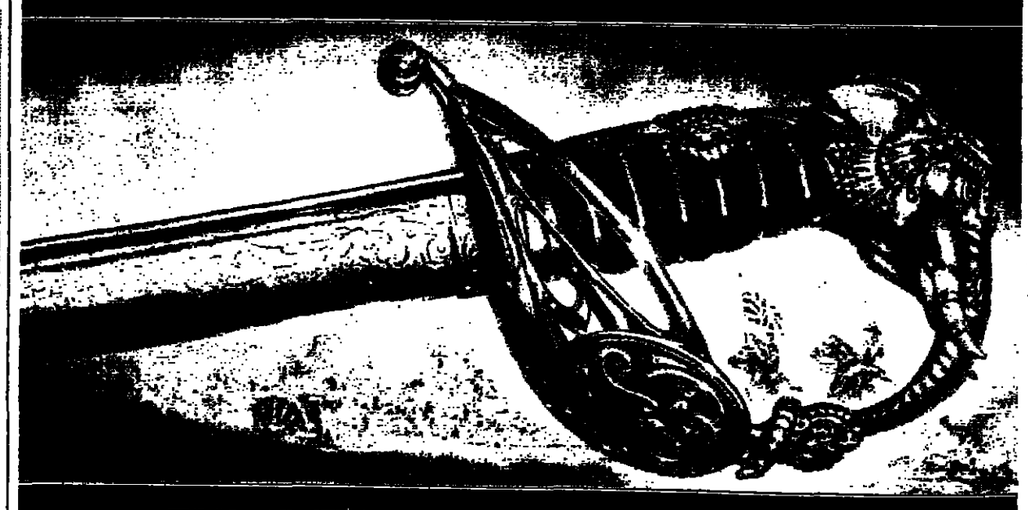
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South Korean navy personnel inspect the submarine at the eastern port city of Donghae where it was towed after becoming tangled in fishing nets PHOTOGRAPH: CHOI KYU-SUNG

# Bodies found in North Korean 'spy' submarine

Yun Suk-bong in Donghae

SOUTH Korea found bodies in a suspected North Korean spy submarine yesterday after it was hauled ashore, said the Korea Broadcasting System, the south's state television channel.

The bodies were found on the floor lying in 12 inches of water, the report said. Defence ministry officials in Seoul said they had received no confirmation, but an official announcement would be made.

The 82ft sub had been discovered foundering on Monday with its propeller and periscope tangled in fishing nets.

It was spotted by a fishing boat crew, about 11 miles from Sokcho, a coastal town about 180 miles north-east of Seoul, and just south of border between the two Koreas.

The vessel sank on Tuesday, when a tow cable snapped as it was being hauled to a dockyard at Donghae, but was raised from the seabed.

Warships combed the area where the sub was found, but no survivors have been reported. Defence officials said that they had not ruled out a group suicide and that North Korean infiltrators were trained to kill themselves to avoid capture.

South Korea's president, Kim Dae-jung, said he would continue to maintain a flexible policy towards North Korea. "As the intrusion into our territorial waters by a North Korean submarine shows, military tensions are continuing." Mr Kim said in a speech to war veterans on the 48th anniversary of a North Korean invasion that started the 1950-53 Korean war.

North Korea has yet to comment specifically on the incident. Pyongyang's official Korean Central News Agency said on Tuesday that one of the country's subs had been "wrecked" on a training mission and the fate of its crew was unknown.

The vessel was found close to where a much larger North Korean submarine ran aground in September 1996, triggering a 53-day hunt for its 26 occupants, 24 of whom died. — *Reuters.*

# El Salvador army officer 'ordered murder of nuns'

Larry Rohter in Miami

EL SALVADOR'S defence minister suspected that a member of his high command had ordered the murder of four United States churchwomen in 1980 and informed the US ambassador of his belief, newly released state department documents show.

For years both governments have asserted that no high-ranking military officials were involved in the killings, which provoked an intense debate about US policy in Central America. The declassified documents raise questions about Washington's motives for not investigating the information more aggressively.

Three Roman Catholic nuns, Maura Clarke, Ita Ford and Dorothy Kazel, and a lay worker, Jean Donovan, were abducted by a military unit on December 2, 1980. They were raped and shot. At the time the US was beginning a decade-long effort to prevent leftwing guerrillas from seizing power, and the case immediately came to symbolise the pitfalls of US involvement in the region.

The defence minister, General Jose Guillermo Garcia, confided his suspicions to Thomas Pickering, who was then the US ambassador to El Salvador and is now undersecretary of state for political affairs. It is not clear from the documents what action, if any, the state department took to investigate the leads passed on by Mr Pickering.

Mr Pickering, who is on holiday, did not respond to a request for comment.

"I think someone should be called on the carpet for this," said Robert White, the US ambassador at the time of the killings. He was replaced by Mr Pickering soon afterwards.

Mr White made it clear he was not referring to his successor. "What has been released moves toward confirming what most of us have always believed, that this was ordered by higher-ups," he said.

In 1984, four members of the El Salvadoran national guard and their immediate superior were convicted of the murders and sentenced to 30 years in prison. In March the enlisted men broke their 17-year silence and told US human rights investigators they had acted only after receiving clear and explicit "orders from above".

The US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, ordered the release of relevant documents after requests by members of Congress and the Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights, which represents the churchwomen's families and which interviewed the guard members. State department officials have said the 300 pages will be published and posted on a state department website in a few days.

Throughout the 12-year civil war, in which 75,000 people were killed, the Reagan and Bush administrations always echoed the El Salvadoran government's contention that the murders were the work of a small group acting on its own.

But the documents make it clear that officials at the US embassy in San Salvador, based on conversations with the highest levels of the El Salvadoran military, had strong indications to the contrary and that their superiors in Washington apparently chose to ignore their warnings. — *New York Times.*

# Amnesty honours Nigerian editor

Victoria Brittain

THE soldiers came for Nosa Igiebor at 1am one day last September after the Nigerian news magazine Tell ran a story saying that General Sani Abacha was seriously ill. They took his wife away for a few frightening hours, while Mr Igiebor, editor in chief of Tell, fled underground and then to London.

Last night he received Amnesty International's Special Award for Human Rights Journalism Under Threat on behalf of Tell. His colleague George Mbah is still detained and Mr Igiebor is preparing to go back.

He is unimpressed by the military regime of General Abdulsalam Abubakar, which has been in power since Gen Abacha's sudden death earlier this month.

"Every military regime starts by appeasing, lulls the opposition into complacency ... In fact the opposition and the press need to redouble their efforts now," he said.



Nosa Igiebor, editor in chief of Tell PHOTOGRAPH: FRANK BARON

It is 12 years since Dele Giwa of Nigeria's first news magazine, Newswatch, was killed by a letter bomb. The following year the magazine was closed by the authorities for six months.

"It was the clearest indication that the military dictatorship would not tolerate independent journalism," Mr Igiebor said.

In the wake of the crude taming of Newswatch, several journalists left to start Tell in 1991. "From the start the magazine's editorial policy was a very vigorous opposition to military regimes,and the promotion of democracy and civil rights," Mr Igiebor said.

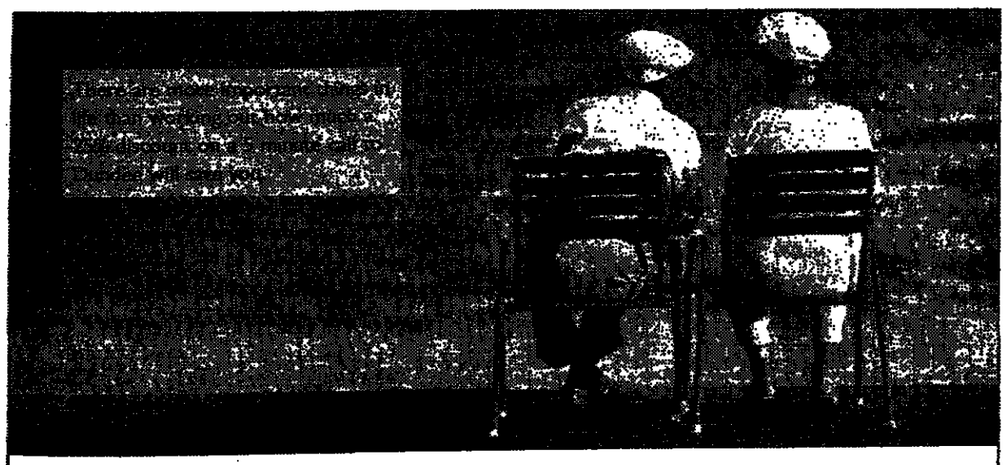
Tell was the only Nigerian publication that refused to call Gen Abacha "head of state", he said. "It was illegal, so we always wrote 'junta' and 'dictator.' "

The magazine was well informed, not only about Gen Abacha's declining health, but also about the annulment of the election in 1993.

But the journalists and their families have paid a high price. The magazine has had copies seized dozens of times — more than a million in the past four years. Harassment and surveillance have been constant; since 1995 the journalists have not even been able to work from their office.

Mr Igiebor has spent two periods in prison, where he and others have been interrogated about the identity of the financial backers of the magazine, which sells 100,000 copies a week.

The release of political prisoners is one of the touchstones for Nigerians to judge the intentions of the new regime, but the democracy movement, strongly backed by Tell, has a clear programme for nothing less than the end of military rule.



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Analysis

# Public complaints



The chicken tikka pizza PM 16

# Who will police the police?

Deaths in custody, sexual harassment, assault, and a general distrust of how these grievances are handled. What can be done? **Duncan Campbell** analyses the problems



Locker room solidarity: fine in some circumstances, but it presents a grudging and unyielding face to the public

THERE'S plenty to complain about. The latest report from the Police Complaints Authority (PCA) features deaths in police custody, sexual harassment (by police officers of police officers, by police officers of the public), the contested use of batons, CS sprays and handcuffs and — no surprise as the Lawrence case goes on — lingering mistrust of the police among minority communities.

Does the complaints system work? Recent inquiries into corruption in the Metropolitan Police together with a series of high-profile industrial tribunal cases following allegations of sexual harassment within forces have focused attention on how alleged malpractice gets investigated. Can complainants trust investigators who are professional colleagues of those complained against? Should the PCA — the principal vehicle for public complaint — employ its own investigators, be they ex-officers, lawyers, officials of the Customs and Excise or even private detectives? If so, ought other professionals involved in administering criminal justice also face external audit and scrutiny of their professional practice — and alleged malpractice (see graphic)?

The PCA was created by the 1984 Police and Criminal Evidence Act to address the public's dissatisfaction with the way complaints about the police were handled; yesterday's report was its thirteenth. Its function is to supervise or review all complaints about the police from the public and matters of gravity referred by the police themselves, such as a fatal shooting by officers.

Last year there were 18,354 complaints, down from the highest-ever total of 19,953 in 1996/97; ten years ago (in 1988) the total was 12,523. People can complain either to the police station concerned or via their MP, local councillor or lawyer or, as in 2,000 cases last year, directly to the PCA.

Less serious complaints – around a third of those registered at present – are resolved informally and go no further. Some are withdrawn because the complainants have a change of heart or a criminal case which has provoked the complaint is resolved in court. (The police suggest that some complaints are cynically made by criminals so that in court they can accuse the officer concerned of malpractice and say they have made a complaint about him or her.)

When the PCA takes over a case it appoints an investigating officer. This (police) officer reports back at the end of an inquiry. The diligence of such officers varies. Some regard it as an important part of police work to call to account officers who have misbehaved, others merely go through the motions. This is one of the problems the PCA faces — how to know whether the team investigating will pursue a complaint against fellow officers as they would pursue perpetrators of alleged offences by the public.

The PCA reports to the deputy or assistant chief constable of the police force concerned and they then consider whether a case should be referred to the Crown Prosecution Service for action in the courts. The PCA can still decide to go to the CPS even if the senior officer declines.

If charged, a police officer may face a criminal trial. If acquitted after a trial an officer cannot then be charged with an offence based on the same facts under the police's internal disciplinary code. This is the "double jeopardy" principle. However this will change next year — too many officers who have been acquitted in the courts have clearly abused their powers yet have been able to continue serving.

The PCA consists of a chairman, (paid £73,780 a year), deputy chairman (on £52,593) and 11 members (paid £44,957 each) whose backgrounds include, at present, the law, the armed services, community relations and local government. The authority gets just over £2 million a year; its budget has recently been squeezed.

In the chair is Peter Moorhouse, 59, former director of Schweppes and chairman of the local review committee of the parole board at Wormwood Scrubs jail in London. Moorhouse, deputy-chairman until two years ago, has managed so far to perform the balancing act that the post involves: he is perceived as neither pro- nor anti-police. He has avoided becoming a figure of police odium such as, say, the Director of Public Prosecutions. His deputy is John Cartwright, the Labour MP who joined the SDP. Other members include Molly Meacher, formerly a Mental Health Act commissioner, and retired Lieutenant-Colonel Anthony Williams MBE.

A number of years passed before the public at large became aware of the body and there were early attempts to stress its independence by adding the word "independent" whenever the name was used. Rank-and-file police officers were initially hostile, believing PCA stood for "Prosecute Coppers Always" and it is still regarded with suspicion.

Its critics claim that the relatively small proportion of punishments handed out is an indication that officers have a good chance of escaping censure and that they will always be given the benefit of the doubt. Time and again, anxiety attaches to the fact that police officers investigate themselves.

Liberty, the civil rights lobbying group, wants a wholly independent body to investigate. It believes that until this happens the suspicion remains that officers can escape punishment because their colleagues are reluctant to pursue them with diligence.

Inquest, the body that campaigns on deaths in custody, is also dissatisfied. It points to the lack of disciplinary action taken against officers involved in suspicious deaths as a sign that little can be achieved under the present system.

Surprisingly the Police Federation, albeit for different reasons, supports an independent body. It says this would remove, once and for all, the suggestion that officers are too lenient on colleagues.

The PCA defends the practice of using police officers, arguing that the police are best-placed to know how colleagues might cover their tracks. Outside investigators, it says, would have even greater problems discovering the truth.

POLICE officers, it is worth recalling, do not like to be complained against. As in any profession – the law, medicine, journalism – such complaints are time-consuming and, if they hold up, damage the credibility of the accused. Even if no punishment is imposed (because such cases often hinge on the word of one person against another) the complaint leaves a trace, sometimes long lasting.

Some lawyers advise clients not to bother with a complaint to the PCA but to take civil action against the force concerned. This has led to a series of private actions, mainly in the Met area where last year £960,000 was paid out in actions settled before a court appearance, and £1,529,000 in actions that went to the courts.

Civil actions hit police forces through their (our) collective pockets. Lawyers who pursue such claims argue that pay-outs can have a salutary effect particularly when awards of as high as £300,000 are made for assaults by officers. However, a recommended ceiling of £50,000 has now been set on such cases by the Court of Appeal and many of them are now settled on the understanding that no publicity is given and no officers are named. This means that the public are left unaware of individual payments made by their force and the misbehaviour which prompted them — hardly a satisfactory way for a public body to be accountable.

The landscape of police complaints is about to change, following an inquiry by the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee earlier this year. The PCA (together with the Association of Chief Police Officers) argued successfully for changes in standards of proof against officers from the current "beyond reasonable doubt" to "balance of probabilities". These changes are due to be in place by April next. In addition, the PCA would like to be able to initiate investigations when it chooses; at present it can only act when requested to by a complainant or the force concerned.

The PCA's credibility will be tested during the next couple of years. How will growing concern over deaths in custody be addressed? How successful will the pursuit of corrupt officers be? Will the changes proposed by the Home Affairs Committee lead to the removal of officers who should not still be serving?

To make the PCA more effective, the Home Secretary could allow it to set up non-police investigative teams perhaps to deal with cases where complainants are especially mistrustful of the current set-up. Mr Straw could also grant the PCA the power it seeks to instigate its own inquiries rather than having to wait to be asked. Within the service, police officers should be encouraged, as now happens in New York, to see the investigation of complaints as a necessary part of a career, a test that any officer seeking promotion must pass.

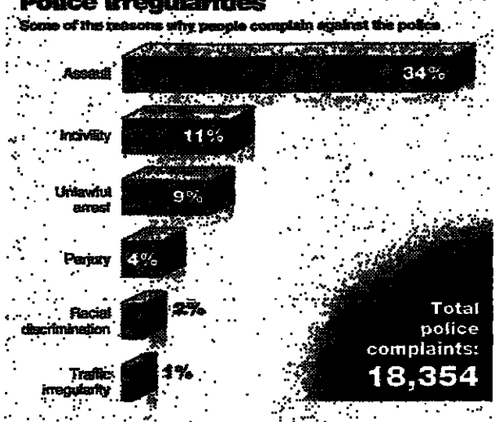
It remains to be seen whether a body such as the PCA can investigate the police fairly and so satisfy genuine complainants. There are few more important public duties.

**Graphics sources:** Police Complaints Authority, annual report 1997/98; professional bodies; Prison Service; Lord Chancellor's Department. Note all figures refer to England and Wales.
**Graphics:** Finbarr Sheehy.
**Research:** Jane Crinnion
Duncan Campbell is the Guardian's crime correspondent.

## Brought to book

### Police irregularities

Some of the reasons why people complain against the police




### Trouble with the law?

How to complain:

**about a police officer**

Complaints should be made to the police station concerned, or to the Police Complaints Authority (a statutory body with its own staff, answerable to the Home Secretary). Alternatively, members of the public can approach their MP directly. The PCA will normally ask a police officer to investigate a complaint under supervision. Minor complaints are dealt with by the police.



**about a prison officer**

Wing managers and (if serious) governors deal with complaints (registered on a standard form). Inmates can approach the prison's board of visitors (lay people appointed by the Home Office) which can forward problems to the Home Secretary. Prisoners can also approach the prison ombudsman with "allegations of professional misconduct".



**about a probation officer**

No set procedure for dealing with probation officers, although an investigation into complaints made. Local committees might take up issues.



**about a solicitor**

Allegations of misconduct or incompetence go to the Office of Supervision of Solicitors, an arm's-length body maintained by the Law Society (the solicitors' professional organisation); it has some lay people on it. Solicitors who are negligent can be pursued through the courts, provided you retain another solicitor.



**about a barrister**

Complaints have to be filed with the complaints commission of the Bar Council (barristers' professional body). It adjudicates. Barristers are immune from civil suits relating to a trial where they were advocates.



**about a judge**

Written complaints about a judge's personal behaviour can be sent to the Lord Chancellor's Department which may call the judge to answer. Appeals against a court's decision (alleging professional misconduct by a judge) may be heard by the Appeals Court, which can overturn a judgment. The Lord Chancellor can dismiss district and circuit judges. High court judges are dismissable only if both Houses of Parliament agree.



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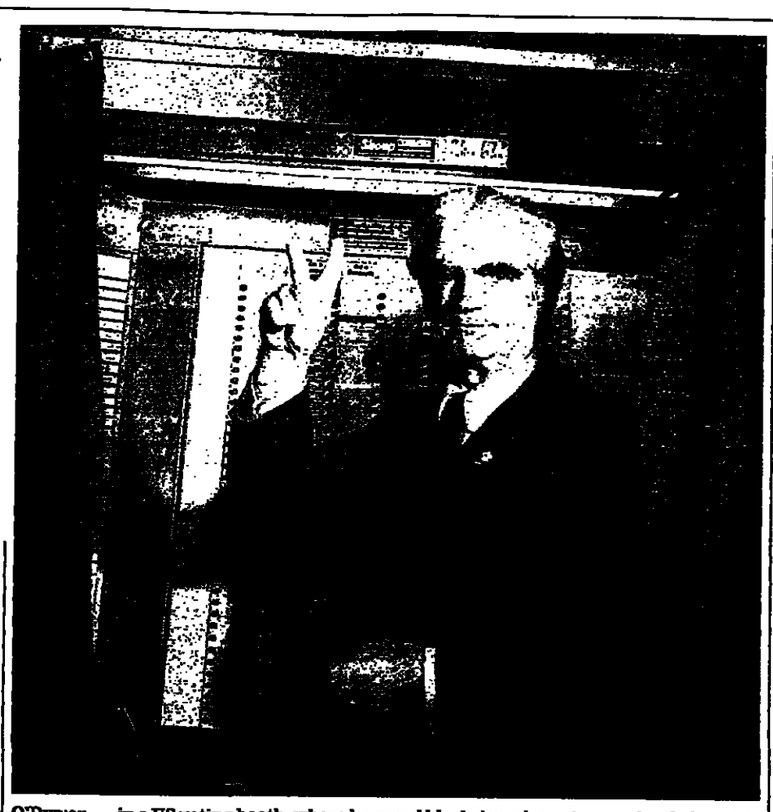
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Paul O'Dwyer

# A vote for civil rights



O'Dwyer . . . in a US voting booth, where he urged black Americans to exercise their rights

PAUL O'Dwyer who has died aged 90, was a lawyer and Democratic politician in New York, but also a devoted and courageous campaigner for the civil rights of black Americans. He campaigned in the South as early as 1963, and as a defence lawyer practising in New York he refused to take payment for civil rights cases. He also acted as counsel for the most militant Jewish underground group in Palestine in 1947 and, much later, for Noraid, the Irish republican Northern Aid Committee.

Aged 20, a couple of years after arriving in New York from Ireland, O'Dwyer got a job as a checker on the docks. It was a good job, certainly better than being a storekeeper in a garage or stacking silk in a warehouse, which is what he had been doing before. It also gave him the leisure to study law at night.

He was pretty pleased with himself, he recollected. Then he realised that the white dockers were kept separate from the blacks. "Here I was, an outsider, an immigrant enjoying equal rights with the Americans, and me only five minutes in the place. But then it dawned that it was because I was white."

That was typical of Paul O'Dwyer. He grew up in southern Ireland during the civil war. He could remember dodging the Black and Tans on his bicycle on his way home from school. His hostility to British rule in Ireland, and indeed to Britain, never wavered. But his hatred of what he saw as injustice in Ireland became part of a general hatred of injustice wherever he saw it.

Paul O'Dwyer was born in Bohola, County Mayo, one of 11 children of a headmaster. "There was a lot of us", he said, "and we were poor. We owed everyone money." He emigrated to New York in 1925 and, once he got that job on the docks, he studied law in the evenings at Fordham and St John's university law schools. When he became a US citizen, he was asked if he renounced his allegiance to George V. "I was amazed," he said, "and told them I had never had any in the first place."

As soon as he had acquired American citizenship he began to practice law in the Bronx, working in the firm his brother had founded. In 1935 he founded his own firm, O'Dwyer & Bernstein. During the second world war, he was brought into the US army with the rank of major to sort out a military equipment scandal. Later President Roosevelt, well aware of his political connections, made him a general.

In 1947 he acted as counsel for the Irgun Zvai Leumi in Palestine. He also acted as a fundraiser, a legal adviser and, on one occasion, as the financier of a gun-running deal. During the McCarthy era, O'Dwyer was an outspoken defender of the rights of those accused of left-wing activity. He also defended Puerto Rican nationalists. He strongly opposed the Vietnam war, and refused until the last moment to endorse Hubert Humphrey, the Democratic presidential candidate in 1968, because he thought Humphrey was too closely associated with the war policy of Lyndon Johnson's administration.

He never made any secret of his commitment to the Irish republican cause. Peace in Northern Ireland, he once told an Irish Times interviewer, was possible "only if the British get out. Their colonial track record is a disgrace". Although his relationship with the IRA remained obscure — and he denied being involved in Noraid — he did act as counsel for the organisation.

O'Dwyer had a long, up-and-down career as a Democratic politician in New York, where his elder brother, William O'Dwyer, was a prominent member of the Tammany Hall machine, and ultimately the city's mayor. The young O'Dwyer was badly beaten when he ran for mayor himself in 1965, but he was elected president of the city council (the post is now called speaker) in 1973.

As a politician, he went in for a good deal of petty lion's tail-twisting of the classic sort, already going a little out of fashion in his day. He was responsible, for example, for changing the date on the great seal of the state of New York from 1664, when the British arrived, to 1625, when the Dutch first settled there.

One of his abiding disappointments in life was that he never succeeded in getting elected to the US Congress, although he ran twice for the Senate and once for the House of Representatives. He put his own career frustrations down to the fact that he was "too damn liberal".

In the early 1990s, O'Dwyer suffered a stroke and was confined to a wheelchair. In 1994 a tribute was arranged for him at a New York hotel. The IRA veteran, Joe Cahill, and the Irish campaigner Bernadette McAliskey were present, and Gerry Adams sent a message praising O'Dwyer for his work "for the cause of Irish independence". Mario Cuomo, then governor of New York, made a speech calling O'Dwyer "a national treasure" and recommending to President Clinton that he be awarded the presidential medal of freedom.

O'Dwyer, a soft-spoken man with a thatch of white hair, once summed up his philosophy like this: "You have to have both the pragmatism and the idealism, the optimistic and the practical. But the ideals should always come first." His first wife, Kathleen, died in 1990. He is survived by his second wife, Pat, and four children from his first marriage.

**Godfrey Hodgson**

(Peter) Paul O'Dwyer, lawyer and politician, born June 1907; died June 24, 1998

Jafar Sharif Emami

# In the service of the Shah

JAFAR Sharif Emami, who has died aged 86, was the last civilian prime minister of Iran during the Shah's reign before the introduction of martial law of November 1978. He was among the first generation of Iranians to study abroad and imbibe the Western values which were deemed to form at least part of the secret of success of modernisation and industrial development. He retained a lifelong commitment to the view that Iran should be in political alliance with the West.

Trained as an engineer in Germany and Sweden, Sharif Emami worked with Iranian railways in the 1930s. Despite being condemned briefly to internal exile in the 1940s, he rapidly moved up the political echelons. He served as undersecretary of roads and communications, and in 1953 became head of the influential "plan organisation", which formulated development policies. A year later he was elected to the Iranian senate.

He was serving as minister of industries and mines when, in 1961, he was invited to become prime minister. At the time, the Shah was seeking to enfranchise women and liberalise family law in response to a wave of mass protests. Helped by a relatively compliant religious establishment and his own background (from a clerical family in Tehran), Sharif Emami was initially able to implement a secular agenda. But the situation deteriorated and, in 1962, the Shah dissolved parliament and began to rule by decree.

Sharif Emami, who favoured pursuing the path of modernisation at all cost, was thwarted by the uprisings of 1962, the suspension of parliament and the subsequent referenda for the "white revolution". However, he continued to work to secure rapid economic growth and served as speaker of the senate in the 1970s.

In the turbulent days preceding the Islamic revolution, Sharif Emami was one of the Shah's closest confidants. In August 1978, the Shah once more called on him to form a government. Sharif Emami accepted and embarked on a programme of "national reconciliation". His clerical background helped to legitimise him in the eyes of the revolutionaries, while his modernist politics made him acceptable to the secularists.

He conceded to many of the demands of the revolutionaries, who had been staging 40-day cycles of mournings for demonstrators killed during recurring protests, and released hundreds of political prisoners. To appease civil servants, who had been on



Emami . . . moderniser

strike for months, he raised their salaries; to meet the demands of the intelligentsia, he relaxed state control of the press; to please the Islamicists, he closed gambling houses and casinos, nightclubs and cinemas showing Western films. He also reinstated the Islamic calendar that had been abolished by the Shah.

For a brief historical moment, it seemed as if the revolution could be stemmed. The political leader Mehdi Bazargan, who was later to become the first post-revolutionary prime minister, appeared willing to negotiate with Sharif Emami. The influential religious leader Ayatollah Shariatmadari declared that the new government should be given three months to prove its ability to deliver the revolutionary demands.

But the moment of hope was shortlived. The exiled leader Ayatollah Khomeini rejected Sharif Emami's overtures, as did the urban guerrillas, the Islamic Mojahedin and the Marxist Fedayeen. The cycles of mourning and strikes continued and on September 8, 1978, the government declared martial law. Next day, demonstrators, unaware of the new laws, organised a mass meeting in the working-class district of Tehran at Jaleh Square and refused to disperse. Troops opened fire and indiscriminately killed many people.

The Jaleh massacre, known as Black Friday, marked the point of no return for the Iranian revolution. It was no longer possible for anyone to claim that the Shah could compromise further. The mourning ceremonies accelerated and led to almost continuous mass demonstrations. On November 6, the Shah dismissed Sharif Emami and appointed a military government.

After the revolution, Sharif Emami escaped to New York, where he remained until his death. He continued to work closely with the Shah's family, becoming for a time president of the Pahlavi Foundation, an educational charity whose contributions for educational purposes were, in practice, considerably less than those allocated to propaganda.

Sharif Emami served his country with commitment and devotion. However, like many monarchists, his focus was on the economy and he lost sight of the importance of civil society and civil liberties until it was too late. He leaves two daughters and a son. His wife, Eshrat, died last year.

**Haleh Afshar**

Jafar Sharif Emami, politician, born 1912; died June 16, 1998

Michael Hodges

MICHAEL HODGES, who has died of a heart attack aged 53, was the good citizen of the London School of Economics. He directed the Centre for Research on the Study of the United States, collaborated on many research projects, and was involved in new money-making ventures, courses, and developments in teaching international political economy. He also taught the college's first undergraduate course in management and ran the international studies part of the LSE's summer school.

The son of naval civil servants, Mike was born in Bolney, Sussex and educated at King Edward's School, Bath, and St John's College, Cambridge. His academic career began in the 1970s at the University of Kent. His University of Pennsylvania doctoral thesis became *Multinational Corporations and National Governments*, a study of British government relations with foreign firms between 1964 and 1970. It concluded that the Whitehall system was not the best way of learning how to ensure that foreign firms benefited the national economy, dilemmas that now face governments in central Europe, Latin America and Asia.

After Kent, he spent 13 years at Lehigh University in the United States, returning to this country in 1987 followed a second marriage to Jean, a fellow Briton with a strong wish to come back.

He had a passionate interest in horses and said that his next research project was to be a study of the global political economy of horse-racing. The remark reflected his enthusiasm for life — and his wry sense of humour. He leaves Jean and their son, and a son and daughter by his first marriage.

**Susan Strange**

Michael Hodges, political economist, born February 13, 1945; died June 17, 1998

George Kelly

# Stomping at the Savoy



Harlem globetrotter . . . Kelly said he thought like Lester Young and played like Coleman Hawkins PETER VACHER

THE tenor saxophonist George Kelly, who has died aged 82, was one of a gaggle of talented Florida jazz musicians who went on to make their names in Harlem. His family were originally from the Bahamas, but he was born in Miami. By the age of 12, he was proficient enough on the piano to fill in for blues singer Mamie Smith's missing accompanist when she came to town.

Kelly's grandmother bought him a gold-plated Conn saxophone when he was in his mid-teens, and a neighbour, who was a sideman with a local band — the sweetly-named Hartley Tootes and his Honey Boys — became his first mentor.

It was not the family's intention that he should turn professional, but Kelly organised his own touring band, the Cavaliers, when he was 17. It featured his boyhood friends, bassist Grachan Moncur and David "Panama" Francis on drums, and their relationships were further cemented when they moved to New York to work the legendary Savoy Ballroom on Lenox Avenue.

During the depression years, Kelly's groups, large and small, travelled the American south until 1938, when he joined the more prominent Zach Whyte orchestra, also known as the Chocolate Beau Brummels. Although that band was playing high-grade arrangements, business was poor and Kelly returned to Miami to tour with Tootes and the old-time black vaudevillians, Butterbeans and Susie, finally returning to New York in 1941.

For the next three years, Kelly was a member of the Savoy Sultans, an eight-piece jump group which was the pride of the Savoy Ballroom and its tough-minded clientele. The Sultans often dispatched larger, better-known bands in the battles of music so much enjoyed by Harlemites. After war service in the US Air Corps, he joined cornetist Rex Stewart, also concentrating on his harmony studies and developing a second string as a commercial arranger and songwriter. Sarah Vaughan was among the major artists who recorded his songs.

Following a lengthy period with drummer Cozy Cole's quintet, he reverted to the piano as the accompanist to the Ink Spots for six years from 1970. He then became a cornerman — and the only original Sultan — in Panama Francis's revived Savoy Sultans, which recorded extensively and became a European festival favourite. They played Ronnie Scott's club in 1981 and the Rainbow Room in New York, prospering until Kelly and Francis came to a parting of the ways over policy.

KELLY later toured Britain as a soloist and made a fine solo album here. He became a key member of the Harlem Blues and Jazz Band, another swing revival group, which undertook many substantial European tours. Following a heart bypass in 1991, he opted for the quieter life, staying near his Bronx home while leading quintets and playing clubs like Sweet Basil in Greenwich Village. If some of his rugged power had gone, he could still turn up the heat. "I think like Lester Young and play like Coleman Hawkins," he explained.

Twice married, Kelly is survived by his four children.

**Peter Vacher**

George Kelly, musician, born July 31, 1915; died May 24, 1998

Harry McGurk

# A word in your eye

THE PSYCHOLOGIST Harry McGurk, who has died aged 62, took up his first teaching post in his mid-thirties, as a lecturer at the University of Surrey. There he made an important discovery about speech perception.

When we are presented with a speech sound that does not match the shape of the lips that we see producing that sound, our brain arrives at a compromise. What we "hear" does not correspond exactly to the auditory input — or to the sound that the lips are visibly forming — but to a sound somewhere "between" the two.

Working out how the brain arrives at that cross-modal compromise has proved a continuing challenge, but McGurk's discovery demonstrated that the lips convey important information about speech not just to the deaf — who rely on that visual channel — but also to normal listeners. McGurk's report, *Hearing Lips and Seeing Voices*, was duly published in Nature and the auditory illusion rapidly became known as the McGurk Effect.

He once explained half-seriously to me how public address systems could be supplemented by a video-screen. To this day, when I hear a station announcement that I cannot decipher, I find myself gazing up, half-hoping to see some giant electronic lips coming to the rescue.

Harry became professor of developmental psychology at London University. He was also director of the Institute of Education's Thomas Coram Research Unit, devoted to applied research on childcare and family issues. In 1994, he was appointed director of the Australian Institute of Family Studies.

His vision of "socially distributed parenting" — a commitment to high-quality services for families and children — was based on scientific research, his socialist convictions, and a rejection of assessing child provision in narrow, financial terms. Colleagues at the institute speak of him as a scientist willing to court controversy; as a col-



McGurk . . . social parenting

league whose tenacity was accompanied by a strong sense of humour; and as a leader who provided support through difficult times. Happily, in Australia, he himself was strengthened by his partner Anne Stonehouse, an associate professor in the field of early childhood.

Harry was born in one of the rougher areas of Glasgow. His mother died when he was three months old, and until his father re-married he was raised by relatives. He left school at 15, gained A-levels at evening classes, and became a probation officer. He was then an active member of the Church of Scotland, and the Iona Youth Associates — which put the social implications of the gospels into action. With his wife Betty, he spent a year in eastern Nigeria helping to manage a hospital and school.

He completed his psychology degree as a mature student, and began a doctorate in 1968 with Rudolph Schaffer at Strathclyde University. At that time, psychological research on infants was rare in Britain, but Harry made rapid progress. While working on his doctorate, his daughter Rhona — a future psychologist — was born.

From its inception, Harry was involved in the International Society for the Study of Behavioral Development and became an ideal president for the society. He also played the cello and was a keen cyclist.

Recalling times spent with Harry, I think of his resolve to push on and up, and especially of those moments of pleasurable anticipation before an important lecture or reception, when he would appear, his head slightly to one side, smiling at what was to come. He is survived by his former wife and their daughter, and his partner Anne and her two sons.

**Paul Harris**

Harry McGurk, psychologist, born February 23, 1936; died April 17, 1998

## A Country Diary

NORTHUMBERLAND: Farmers here are busy with sheep shearing. Small, one-man contractors using portable electric clippers set up on trailers and make a seasonal living with several thousand sheep sheared every week. The shearing can vary from year to year; when the weather has been kind and there is a good rise in the wool, the shears run smoothly. A strong, protesting sheep is an awkward creature to handle but an experienced shearer is a marvel to watch and handles each struggling beast with such skill that there is minimum trauma; it is stripped within minutes. Whilst the ewes are sheared, the lambs in an adjacent pen are wormed and a hind, usually a woman, is in charge of wrapping the wool into neat bundles. Two lambs from a neighbour are earmarked for my freezer when the grandchildren come in August, though I prefer not to know which ones they are. He will bring them butchered just as I want them, and my elderflower champagne will be ready by then, so we will enjoy a glass from the fridge and a gossip. The elderflowers are very good this month, aided by heavy rains and now warmth and hot sun. I have just made 16 pints, which will be ready in eight weeks. Our land is old meadow, which has never seen the plough, and there has been a wealth of wildflowers this year. Down the west side of the big field are depressions now grassed over — the air raid shelters dug by the villagers in the last war. A metal detector asked permission to probe in the field and unearthed an interesting collection of buttons, coins and bottle tops, so they must have been used at some time, although fortunately not as a place of refuge. More likely children in the parish were exploring until their elders put a stop to it.

*VERONICA HEATH*

## Birthdays

**Claudio Abbado**, conductor, 65; **Sir Alan Bailey**, safety investigator for royal palaces, 67; **Prof Kenneth Barker**, musician, vice chancellor and chief executive, De Montfort University, 64; **June Bridgeman**, member of the government panel investigating BSE, 66; **Hugues Cuenod**, French tenor, 97; **Georgie Fame**, rock singer, 55; **Dr Alexander Fenton**, ethnologist, 69; **Willie Hamilton**, republican, former Labour MP, 81; **Lady Holland-Martin**, former chairman, NSPCC, 84; **Donald Johnston**, secretary-general, OECD, 62; **Barry Jones**, Labour MP, 60; **Prof Ruth Kempson**, linguist, 54; **Robert Maclennan**, Liberal Democrat MP, 62; **Gordon McQueen**, rugby footballer, 46; **Prof Sir Alan Peacock**, economist, 76; **Peter Pike**, Labour MP, 61; **Emma Porteous**, costume designer, 62; **Lord Rawlinson**, QC, former Conservative Attorney-General, 79; **Philip Sawford**, Labour MP, 48; **Philippe Streiff**, racing driver, 43; **Prof Maurice Wilkes**, computer scientist, 85; **Colin Wilson**, author, 67; **David Winnick**, Labour MP, 65; **Marta Zabaleta-Hinrichsen**, Anglo-Argentinian writer, economist, anthropologist, 61.

## CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

THE REMOVAL of some quotation marks from the words mother-in-law in our obituary of Maureen O'Sullivan, page 18 yesterday, gave the impression that Woody Allen and Mia Farrow married. They didn't. The Woody Allen film, *Hannah and Her Sisters* was 1986, not 1987. The Bennets in *Pride and Prejudice* only sported one t.

IN AN ARTICLE about St Edmund Hall, Oxford, G2, pages 8 and 9, June 24, we attributed to Ovid a quotation from an ode by Horace. In a caption we identified the subject of a portrait carving as a former principal, Canon Kelly, when, in fact, the subject was another former principal, A B Emden.

THERE were a couple of errors in our review of the programme by the choreographer Ashley Page, *Cheating, Lying and Stealing*, at the Barbican, page 11, G2, June 23. We referred to Leanne Benjamin when we meant to mention Mara Galeazzi, and we misspelt the name of Viviana Durante. Apologies.

THE LATEST annual Highland Bird Report is £10 cheaper than we indicated in our Country Diary, page 18, yesterday. It can be obtained for £5.50 (inc p&p) from Colin Crooke, c/o RSPB North Scotland Office, Etive House, Beechwood Park, Inverness, IV2 3BW.

IN AN article headed, Tales from the hood, on Page 7, G2, June 23, we described the subject of the piece, the director of journalism at City University, New York, throughout as P J Rondinone. His surname is Rondinone. Apologies.

*It is the policy of the Guardian to correct errors as soon as possible. Please quote the date and page number of the edition concerned. Readers may contact the office of the Readers' Editor by telephoning 0171 239 9589 between 11am and 5pm, Monday to Friday. Surface mail to Readers' Editor, The Guardian, 119, Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER. Fax: 0171 239 9897. E-mail: reader@guardian.co.uk*

## Death Notices

CARSTEN, Francis, Emeritus Professor at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, on June 23 in hospital, aged 88. Father of Oliver, Colin and Janet. Funeral at Golders Green Crematorium, West Chapel, Friday 3 July 3.30pm. Flowers to J.H. Kenyon, 8 Pond Street, London NW3 2PN.

## Memorial Services

GROAK, Steven, Groak. 2pm on 3rd July at The Wigmore Hall, Wigmore Street, London W1, in celebration of his life.

■To place your announcement telephone 0171 713 4567 or fax 0171 713 4707 between 9am and 3pm Mon-Fri.

# Comment

## Diary

Simon Bowers

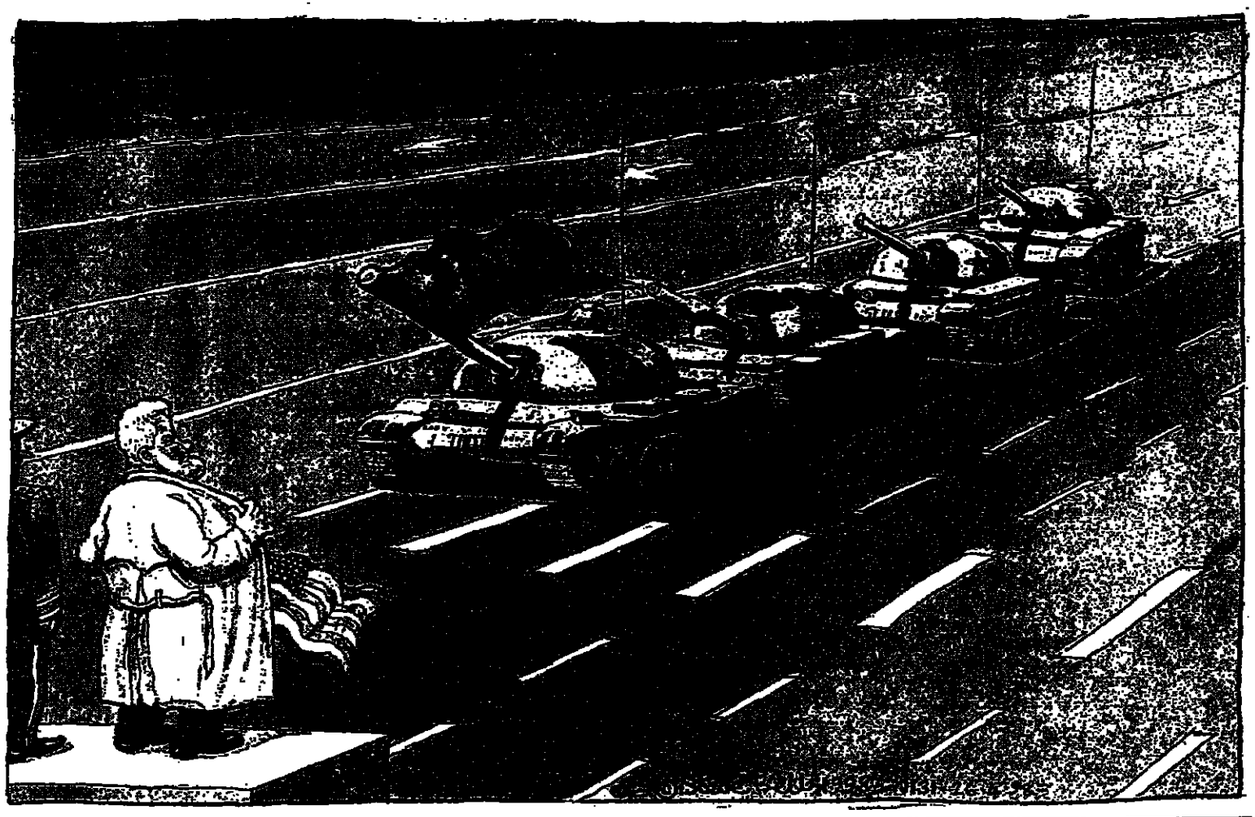
**SADLY, the Diary has heard unhelpful mutterings concerning tonight's England match. "We haven't got a prayer," said one doubting Tom before receiving a slap. Struck by the truth of this remark, however, we put in an urgent call to Diary Vicar the Rev Steve Chalke. As ever, the man who, in his own words, "most coherently defines the zeitgeist", was ready to help. The France '98 sermon begins with an inspiring quote. It is Corinthians II, 5.9: "So we try our best to please him. We want to please him whether we are *at home*, or *away*." The King James version Rev? "Er, no. Actually, I've cropped a few words — but that's fine." By way of a pulpit crescendo Steve gives us the following: "After all the ups and downs, clear disputes, differences of opinion, tabloid revelations, traumas and even drunken orgies of the last few months, it's time to put all this behind us — team and nation. To quote from St Paul: 'Press on, towards the goal, and win the prize for which God has called you'." Would that work as a chant from the terraces? "Yes, I think that would be great. Don't you?" We do Rev. Thanks, and God bless.**

**DESPITE the tough spending restrictions imposed on the Ministry of Defence, we are relieved to hear that vital technological upgrades, essential to the defence of the realm, have received the all clear. "As a minimum," RAF Huntingdon insists, "the replacement in-flight entertainment system should provide the facility for the passenger to view a selection of modern feature films and pre-recorded entertainment programmes." Could the MoD, we asked yesterday, explain the relevance of this in a combat situation? "I am not willing to be drawn into this," says a spokesman. "You have to know more about the needs of the aircraft to answer that *question*."**

**A FURTHER leaked letter from the MoD reveals a possible weak link in the nation's defences. National security forbids us printing full details, but suffice it to say, it is from Liz Peace of the Defence Evaluation and Research Agency (DERA).**

**CUTLERY vandal Uri Geller appears in Hackney as part of his relentless bid to bring happiness to the world. The day before England's match with Tunisia, you may recall — despite previous hostile remarks from Glenn Hoddle (who subscribes to a rival psychic school) — a life-size photo of Uri's hand graced the News of the World. "At 1.25pm tomorrow," readers were instructed, "place your hands on Uri's palm and help England SCORE." They did, and England duly won. Similarly now, via the medium of a local newspaper, Uri has turned his talents on the complex, internecine squabble that is Hackney Borough Council. "Focus your mind on the picture above at noon," reads the caption for a picture of the mindbender. "With the help of the minds of Hackney people," Uri tells the paper, "I really believe we can change the council." While several councillors expressed scepticism, the leader of Hackney's Green Party, Yen-Chit Chong, who holds the hung council's balance of power says, "I will not turn my back on anything that could help." Nor, indeed, will the Diary, and we await good tidings from north London.**

**ON Wednesday the Sun suggested that there might be some confusion as to who the current most dangerous man in Britain might be. Our research reveals Mick Costello of Maidstone, Kent, received the Sun's coveted MDM award in 1982 for his role as industrial organiser for the Communist Party. The onetime dangerman has since relinquished the title and is now rumoured to be peacefully exporting artificial limbs to Russia. Any further nominations will be added to a little black book, to be presented to the imprisoned poet, cartoonist and self-declared hardman supremo — Charles Bronson — upon his release.**



# If Tony Blair and chicken tikka pizza are the best we get, include me out

Decca Aitkenhead



ABOUT a month ago I was out at lunch, when a man came up to the bar. He was wearing combat trousers. Combat trousers have lately become regulation wear in certain circles, the pseudo-uniform of the clubber and *cognoscente* of industrial-warehouse-lifestyle trends. They come in a variety of khaki greens and fawns, and are identifiable by their mid-thigh patch pockets. Traditionally — by which I mean, over the past 18 months — combat trousers posed a distinctive fashion statement. *They were fleetingly cool.*

The man at the bar looked more like Norman Fowler than an east-London clubber. Approaching middle age, with the Telegraph tucked under one arm, he had succeeded in finding a pair of combats made not of khaki canvas, but of fine dog-tooth tweed. Here were combats in the fabric which used to wrap itself around men content to walk the moors shooting grouse, immune to the tastes of fashionable London. Now it was cut into combat trousers, and they looked absurd.

I'm reminded of his trousers every time I come across TV people responsible for coming up with new programme ideas. What we're looking for, they explain, is something really serious, really intelligent. Only, it's got to be a laugh a minute, too. And maybe filmed like MTV? Kind of like, *incisive* and *hilarious*! That sounds brilliant, I say. Actually, what it ends up as is a muddle of comedians struggling to say something worthy, and serious people embarrassing themselves with anxious stabs at wit.

Channel 4 recently commissioned a new idea, and it is called The Sundays. Each week, Lord (Melvyn) Bragg invites a panel of guests to debate which stories they would put in their Sunday newspaper — as if there were such a thing as the "right" paper, as opposed to the right paper for different readers. On the very first show, we watched Lady (Helena) Kennedy and Richard Littlejohn clash so comprehensively on news values as to proceed rapidly past lively debate into the realm of meaningless cross-purpose.

News coverage in real life exhibits a similar schizophrenia. *Broadsheets gorge on the* Spice Girls, while the Daily Star bans the use of the words "curvy" and "raunchy". So far, the Sun has held on to its Page 3 girls — but these are looking less and less like busty stunners, and more like undergraduates who, in their haste to get to a philosophy lecture, forgot to put on their clothes on. Newsnight no longer employs Paxman to hold cabinet ministers to account, but to chair a kind of coffee morning chat about Oprah issues. A recent example featured a smiling young woman telling us why she was getting married, and an older woman telling her why she shouldn't.

What is this about? There are various possible explanations. First, perhaps, we have the legacy of post-modern theory. Like most elaborate academic ideas, post-modernism has been misrepresented in popular use, so that what started out as an innovative critique of culture has ended up as an opinion that anything unashamedly highbrow is unfashionable, if not in fact offensive. Conversely, we have the embourgeoisement of working-class culture, putting pressure on tabloid culture to aspire to the most banal pretensions of the middlebrow market.

We also have something people like to refer to as the Diana factor, and others as the "feminisation" of popular discourse. This is broadly thought of as a good thing — which is odd, as what it really seems to mean is that institutions like the Today programme can no longer be rigorously interrogative, but must be easy listening chat shows, nattering away about this and that instead. That way, they say, no one will be "put off".

We are told that this is fantastic. Old barriers are coming down, definitions are blurring, everything is accessible to everyone! No one is excluded! In fact, instead of getting strong, distinctive products — be it trousers or TV programmes — what we are getting is all the blandness of middlebrow culture, without even the coherence of a middlebrow product which was intended to be bland. It is like chicken tikka pizza, that 90s invention which imagines the way to make a great meal is to put a bit of everything in. Chicken tikka is great. Pizza is great. Chicken tikka pizza is dog food.

THIS is the curse of inclusivity — the fallacy that some things are not mutually exclusive, when they patently are. "Inclusive" is not just a cultural buzzword, but increasingly.. a political command. No one is more attached to it than Tony Blair, to whom it seems nothing is mutually exclusive. For Blair, it is perfectly possible, for example, to be a Labour prime minister and use the office to privatise state industries. Nor is there anything wrong with supporting a Labour candidate for mayor of London who sends his children to private school.

And there is no reason, apparently, why Tony Blair should not find time this week to attend the memorial service for Sir David English, a man who devoted his professional career to the task of keeping Labour out of office, by whatever means possible. Blair saw no problem eulogising Sir David — just as he had no difficulty praising Enoch Powell. He has probably got his eulogy to Rupert Murdoch already prepared, should — God forbid — anything happen to the great man.

The great myth of inclusivity is that it indicates a mature confidence. Whether you're Tony Blair at the memorial, or a geek in tweed combats, you're big enough to accommodate anything. In fact, what inclusivity represents is a colossal crisis of confidence. The man in tweed combats is dressed as he is because he hasn't the confidence to ignore others' tastes and just wear tweeds, just as the Sun no longer has the confidence to be a tabloid. Like teenage girls who cram on as many Top Shop accessories as their wrists and necks can support, we embrace inclusivity only because we're too afraid to leave anything out.

A confident culture creates products which are dramatically different, defined as much by what they're not as what they are. A truly confident prime minister does not need everyone to like him, and therefore does not need to say he likes everyone. Until the day someone dies and Blair manages to keep himself away from the memorial service, it will be hard to have much confidence in our chicken tikka pizza Prime Minister.

# Life's just a hot tin roof

Bill Buford



LAST Friday was the first hot day of June, that sultry, oppressive, wet heat that rolls into the city and doesn't leave. It's a heat you don't want to breathe. The air feels thick, full of things. As I stepped out of my office, there was a scene. A van had stopped to make a delivery. A limo had stopped, just across from it, to pick up a client. Not much room, and two taxis tried to squeeze past: one took off the van's side mirror; the other caught the limo's bumper and twisted it into a pretzel-like thing. The limo driver was white, a Russian. Ten years ago, the taxi drivers were immigrant Russians; now they're brown-skinned people like these two, from Bangladesh.

There was an inarticulate, vaguely racist exchange, and a brown-skinned man got punched hard in the nose, blood pouring down his face. By now the cars behind were backed up, blocking the cars at the next intersection, which in turn were blocking the cars behind them, and so on. There was another scuffle — some pushing and that big-chested thing that men do when provoked by other men — and the sound of a siren. The taxi driver, evidently, had phoned for an ambulance, but it couldn't get through. The next siren was a policeman's, but he, too, was stuck. The noise was remarkable: sirens, horns, shouting. Then two fire trucks appeared. Summer in New York had started.

Summer in America is different from summer in Britain. Last Sunday was the solstice. It was, by American standards, a cool day (because of El Niñō). In New York, it was 91 degrees. Midway across the continent, in Chicago, it was a pleasant 90. In Seattle, up in the temperate north-west it was 85. In Atlanta it was 95; in Dallas, 102; in Phoenix, 109. July will be hotter; August will be hotter still. A continent of heat.

AMERICA now lives in a summer of hibernation — most homes have air conditioning; the truth of the summer is without it. Arthur Miller writes about life before air conditioning in this week's New Yorker, recalling that pall of heat that never breaks, and he describes a night-time summer detail that was new to me: "I would go across 110th to Central Park and walk among the hundreds of people, singles and families, who slept on the grass, next to their big alarm clocks, which set up a mild cacophony of the seconds passing, one clock's tick syncopating with another's." By morning, the alarms would start going off and the men returned to their apartments to shower and go to work.

Summer is different in Britain. Shall I compare thee, etc, Shakespeare writes (for whom, summer is a sweet thing or a happy one or pleasant or merry) — except, no, such a comparison wouldn't be right: summer's lease is all too short. "The way to ensure summer in England," Horace Walpole wrote, "is to have it framed and glazed in a comfortable room."

American summer is expressed in two myths. The popular one is escape, of not doing what you've been doing every other month of the year. Easy Rider was a summer film. On The Road was a summer book. Lolita was both. For Americans, summer is a romance of anywhere but here — a Calvin Klein ad of amphibious airplanes, water-skiing, a house in Maine or the Hamptons or some island, any island, a place surrounded by water, fly-fishing like Robert Redford, and the high aesthetic of the sun — even though Americans, Puritan and profit-driven, are working too hard to go anywhere except an office: the average holiday is 10 working days.

"Summertime", and the living is easy, but at the heart of Porgy And Bess is the other myth of American summer, not of escape, but of a prison of relentless heat, a Dante vision. *After all, during that* same scene when we learn of the fish jumping on the line, a poker game is being played, and tempers flare and someone gets killed and a woman takes up with another man. West Side Story is set in the hot, hot streets of hell's kitchen. And there's Tennessee Williams — where everything is hot and sticky and violent — or William Faulkner, or, for that matter, any of the

> For Americans, summer is a romance of being anywhere but here

Southern writers: they all have a vocabulary of heat that has nothing to do with Shakespeare: a languid, liquid drawl, heavy in its damp sensuality. These summers are neither sweet nor short and no one's beloved wants to be compared to a day of any of it.

Last November, the American Journal Of Personality And Social Psychology published findings, drawn from 45 years of FBI data, which confirm for me the nature of the long American summer: that when it gets hot, our passions rise in metaphoric and sometimes criminal sympathy. The summer makes people into something they weren't. They sweat. They wear less clothing. They have trouble holding things in. There's music and noise and no one wants to go to bed. Impulses can't be stopped — impulses of appetite, lust, desire, anger, rage. We become less civilised. We become creatures of a season.

President Clinton is at the mercy of the economic crisis that is rocking his hosts in Beijing – and so are we

# Bill in a China stop

John Gray

ASIA'S gathering depression is opening up widening cracks in American global power. Wall Street views Asia's crisis as the fire sale of the century — a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to buy up sizable chunks of its economies. It expects the crisis to end with the spread of the free market throughout Asia and a continuation of America's spectacular boom. In reality, the US is deeply vulnerable to worsening economic conditions in Asia and control of events is shifting to the Asian countries themselves. Far from inaugurating an era of American hegemony, the Asian depression may come to be seen as marking its close.

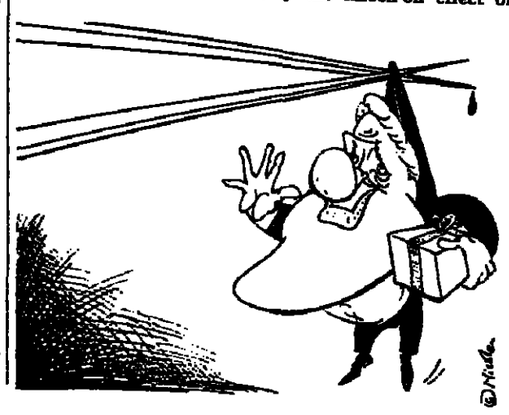
The shift in relative power is well illustrated by President Clinton's current nine-day visit to China. Many purposes have been advertised for Clinton's trip, but its overriding objective must now be to forestall another devaluation of the Chinese currency. Such a move by the Chinese government would have incalculably destabilising implications for the world economy. It could plunge the rest of Asia into a vortex of competitive devaluation and trigger a protectionist backlash in the US. Yet, though it appears to have succeeded in extracting an assurance from the Chinese government that it will not devalue, there is in truth very little that the US can do to stop it.

If China devalues it will be in order to stave off the risk of domestic unrest. China's rulers must have watched events in Indonesia with considerable interest and not a little foreboding. The fall of the Suharto regime has shown them that even a long-standing authoritarian regime can be toppled suddenly by economic crisis. With the privatisation of state enterprises about to result in a shake-out of tens of millions of workers and the economy showing ominous signs of deflation, China's

> The euro-zone will be the safer place to be when the US bubble bursts

government will do everything in its power to prevent the numbers of jobless spiralling out of control. No inducement that President Clinton can offer as he arrives bearing tributes in Beijing can match the threat to the survival of its rulers posed by rising unemployment. The US lacks the means to prevent a Chinese devaluation. But this is only a particular example of a more general truth. America can no longer dictate the policies of other sovereign states as it and the USSR did, with varying success, during the cold war. The international system has become too anarchic for any state to be able to act as a superpower. Despite President Clinton's anguished pleas and the threat of economic sanctions, the US has not been able to stop nuclear proliferation on the Indian subcontinent. Even America's leverage over economic policy in Japan is quite limited. If China devalues there will be little the US can do to stop Japan letting the yen slide.

Asia's crisis shows how narrow are the limits of American power. Yet these limits are largely not noticed, or denied, in the US. American public opinion has not yet perceived any threat to the country's prosperity in the Asian meltdown. Led by Wall Street, it sees Asia's crisis as proof of America's triumph. Indeed it is partly this faith that sustains America's booming markets. Wall Street's sky-high share prices have come to embody the American faith that the US is exempt from history. When that illusion is punctured by the knock-on effect of depression in Asia, American markets could suffer an historic rout.



Where does this leave Britain? Waning American power points towards deeper British integration in Europe. In stabler times Britain's dithering about EMU might be defensible. When the world economy is at risk it is reckless. The next leg of the Asian crisis could have a sharply recessionary impact on the British economy. To wait on events is not sensible. The Government should make an unequivocal declaration of its intention to join the single currency. The euro zone faces some formidable problems and it cannot hope to insulate itself from global markets. But it will be a safer place to be when the US bubble bursts.

Prof John Gray is the author of False Dawn: Delusions Of Global Capitalism (Granta)

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**'Marriage has changed and relationships are fragile. Yet people want them to work'**
Penny Mansfield, Letters

# Energising the market

## This is a pragmatic start

THE Government's long-awaited energy review won't please everyone, but at least it is a thoroughgoing examination of the fast-changing market from a long-term point of view. The Conservatives didn't bequeath a policy to Labour so much as a crude philosophy — privatise practically everything — which left a market rigged against coal, biased towards gas and with a worrying monopoly in the middle — the electricity "pool" — which was keeping prices higher than justified at a time when oil and gas prices around the world were plummeting. Yesterday's reforms will, with any luck, help prevent the pool from artificially keeping prices high. They will also pressurise electricity generators to make coal-fired capacity they decline to use available to others who could generate power; this could prevent the coal industry from virtually disappearing. In case that doesn't happen on the scale required, the Government is considering introducing a regeneration fund to help affected mining communities. It has recoiled from banning new gas-fired power stations (which would have triggered a flood of litigation) but will instead introduce strict tests before granting permission for new gas-fired plant.

Steps will also be taken to end the monopoly of supply to domestic consumers. The rationale behind all this is that if the dash-for-gas were allowed to go on then — given the accelerated decline of coal and the prospect of no new nuclear power stations being built — gas could end up with 75 per cent of the market by 2020 leaving Britain vulnerable to political turbulence in unstable producing countries such as Algeria and Russia. Some energy experts, the Labour-supporting Professor David Currie of the London Business School, for instance, dispute this. He argues that in the past, Britain was much more dependent on coal from a single source, and the liberalisation of international gas markets makes available many diverse sources of supply much cleaner and much less damaging to health.

Even so, most people would probably agree that the coal industry, shorn of nostalgia, at least deserves a level playing field on which to sell its wares. This must be better than now, when the fuel only gets used for electricity generation after supplies have been taken from nuclear, gas and the undersea connector to France. (Bizarrely, this only takes electricity from France and does not return the favour — yesterday's document promises to do somthing about this.) One of the main effects of the new policy is that coal will get a chance to sell more, if it can produce at competitive prices. As a result, the industry could enjoy a new lease of life in which it can use the latest flue-gas desulphurisation equipment to try to ensure its future in a country dedicated to reducing its greenhouse gases.

It remains to be seen whether all this will stem the seemingly unstoppable expansion of gas. Professor Currie reckons that if the market for gas-powered stations is clamped down, gas will re-emerge as the source of electric power within the home in the form of micro-generation. This would be much more difficult for the Government to stop, and would hit the electricity industry from an unexpected direction. Either way electricity prices should fall. Margaret Beckett, President of the Board of Trade, says that wholesale prices could fall by more than 10 per cent in the medium term.

It is a bit of a culture shock to see Labour trying to inject real competition into a largely privatised market inherited from the Conservatives — but that is the only sensible way to proceed. Yesterday's decisions were inevitably pragmatic, given the forces the Government is up against, but they are what is needed to restore some sanity to Britain's wayward energy market.

# Deadly discovery

## Saddam must scrap his weapons

SANCTIONS are a blunt instrument, as ordinary Iraqis have found to their cost during the eight long years since the invasion of Kuwait. But the news that Saddam Hussein developed the ability to mount deadly nerve gas on missiles — and may still have it — is a reminder of an even less discriminating weapon in a dangerous part of the world. It is a depressing story because only a few days earlier, the head of the United Nations Special Commission (Unscom), Richard Butler, was sounding unusually upbeat. He reported Iraqi agreement to a "road map" to end the sanctions that have crippled a once-booming economy and malnourished a generation of blameless children. But on Wednesday, a gloomy Mr Butler confirmed that tests proved that Iraq had, despite repeated denials, loaded warheads with the lethal nerve agent VX.

The revelations are certain to further delay the day when Unscom can verify that Iraq has dismantled its weapons of mass destruction, a prerequisite for lifting the oil sanctions imposed after it invaded Kuwait. They are bad news because since the stand-off between Baghdad and the UN last February, Iraq's behaviour had improved. Nobody expected Saddam Hussein to change his spots, but there were hopes that deception about his arsenal would give way to genuine co-operation. There was even some "light at the end of the tunnel," with explicit UN acknowledgement of progress on the nuclear dossier, a concession coaxed out of a reluctant United States. Parallel movement on the ballistic missile, chemical and biological files has yet to be seen.

Friends of Iraq such as Russia and France believe these revelations were deliberately leaked to rein in an over-optimistic Unscom chief. But they do not dispute them. The US and Britain certainly want to shift the burden back on to Iraq to tell the truth, rather than Unscom to prove its case. But it is President Saddam, not Mr Butler and his inspectors, who is in the dock. Unscom's job is to verify that those deadly weapons — worth billions of dollars in lost oil revenues to the man who developed and used them — have been completely scrapped. And when that happens, the sanctions should go. Iraq and the world can only hope that Saddam goes with them.

# Cricket auction

## But compromise is in the air

CHRIS Smith should keep his head down this morning. Cricket fans will only be too eager to send him some beamers. As forecast yesterday by our political correspondent, the Culture Secretary is removing England's home cricket tests from the sporting world's "crown jewels" — the list of events reserved exclusively for terrestial television. Now the big bad BSkyB wolf will be able to bid, threatening millions of people who do not subscribe to satellite or cable television with the loss of an armchair-view of yet another major national sports event. But it was not all bad news for sports fans. The Culture Secretary declared that he would be increasing the number of protected "jewels" by adding the European Football Championship finals, the Rugy League Challenge Cup Final, and the Rugby World Cup Final to the crown. And beyond these three events, he indicated that he would be seeking Europe-wide arrangements for protecting free access to crucial ties in the qualifying games of the World Cup and European championships. Perhaps Mr Smith is hoping the cheers from football fans will drown out the cries of the much smaller band of cricket followers.

Not everyone in the cricketing world will be dismayed. County club treasurers will be smiling at the thought of extra funds which could be generated for a cash-starved sport. Cricket coaches will be encouraged by the prospects of giving young players a better career structure. Cricket is never going to be able to offer the glittering fortunes that football promises, but higher television fees would allow counties to increase their present poverty wages. The enormous pay gap between the sports must lose cricket many potential recruits. Which would you choose if you were good at both sports: a £12,000 contract with a cricket team for a five-month season, or a figure 10 times as large from a big football club?

The England and Wales Cricket Board will also welcome the move. It wanted the restriction lifted so it could negotiate "a fairer price" for broadcast rights. It has been quite open about its tactics: let cricket remain on terrestrial television, but let BSkyB put in a bid to force the BBC to pay a higher fee. There is an obvious fault in this strategy: suppose BSkyB does not play ball and refuses to make a bid.

# Letters to the Editor

## In the swim for honours

I AM still chuckling at John Carvel's mischievous article (Reward for watchdog?, June 23) about chief inspector of schools Chris Woodhead becoming vice-chancellor of Exeter University. The odds against him becoming the vice-chancellor of any British university are roughly equal to those that he could swim across the Atlantic Ocean in a day. The odds against him being vice-chancellor of Exeter University are about the same as those that he could swim across the Pacific Ocean in an hour. Given Woodhead's high opinion of himself, perhaps he fancies his chances of walking on water.
Prof Ted Wragg.
University of Exeter.

CATHERINE Bennett and Baudelaire had it about right on the elevation of Lord Bragg et al (One for him... June 20). But Flaubert had it better: "Honours dishonour, titles degrade, work stupefies." (He meant the kind of work Blair and Co are forcing single mothers into.)
Ron Taylor.
London.

I WAS delighted to see Jane Bouch has finally become the first woman to be granted a professional fighter's licence by the Boxing Board of Control, but it begs the question, who will she fight?
Andy Butterworth.
Liverpool.

ARE we supposed to be surprised at the prospect of the Germans and English fighting on French soil (Report, June 25)?
Emilie Cope.
London.

RE "Police prepare new hooligan sweep" (June 20). Have they warned Sooty?
David Nicholson.
Windsor, Berks.

# Will Sun set the agenda?

HUGO Young (Comment, June 25) notes the increasing opaqueness of the anti-EMU arguments in the Eurosceptic (or rather, Europhobic) press, but what else could they be? This is the phobia that dare not speak its name: self-interest.

Is there anything more nauseating than foreign-owned newspapers preaching patriotism to disguise their proprietors' fear that properly enforced European Union regulations might reduce their over-mighty empires?

But there's more to it than that. In our over-centralised island, newspaper editors and proprietors are kings of the dung-heap, flattering and cajoling politicians here, blackmailing and bullying there. If power flows away to Brussels and Strasbourg this incestuous little world is threatened.

Of course if Britain's newspapers were watchdogs on the establishment, this would matter. However, they are no such thing — they're the key members of that establishment. Browbeating politicians with hate-filled rabble-rousing is not democracy but populism of the worst possible kind, and the sooner rendered impotent the better. Strident editorials in the press may sway British politicians, but from Europe, they'll sound like pathetic, distant squeaks.
Julian Petley.
London.

THERE is one reason, and only one, for Murdoch's Euro antipathy: money (Blair cools on euro after Sun blast, June 25). His empire pays derisory sums through currently legal tax refuges. With the threat of centralised, Europe-wide laws, the Digger obviously feels bullying is the means by which he can best "persuade" the Government to seek an opt-out. Regretably, it his tactics may work.
Bob Lewis.
London.

HUGO Young is right: Tony Blair should ignore the yobbish threat of the Sun. But he still has a lot of work to do to persuade the electorate and many in his own party of the EMU's benefits. As a party member who supports EMU, I have found Labour's stance on monetary union disappointing.

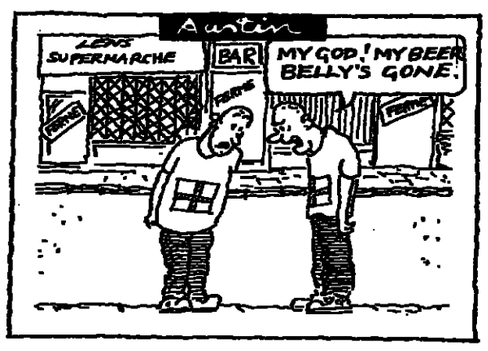
Where are the Labour voices making a case for EMU? Only last week, the director of a left of centre think-tank both indicated to me that they did not regard research on monetary union as a priority area. If Labour is going to fight and win a referendum on EMU, it first has to convince itself.
Liz Clements.
Oxford.

WITH the Government laying the groundwork for entry into EMU, did anyone expect the Sun, Murdoch et al to simply roll over and say: "OK, Tone, away you go"?
Martin McDonald.
Brighton.

HUGO Young chooses uncharacteristically to play chorus to Alastair Campbell, attacking the BBC for prominent reporting of the Sun's attack on the Prime Minister.

"Some news," he says. If it was so unimportant, why did the Guardian not only devote the Comment page but also a first leader and three items, taking up the whole of page five, to the story?
Robin Oakley.
Political Editor, BBC,
London.

SURELY the most persuasive argument in favour of EMU is that Murdoch and the Sun are against it.
Alan Richardson.
London.




## Slur on immigration service

I AM appalled at the letter by the Rev David Haslam (June 12) regarding the sad loss of Sir David English. In particular I must protest on behalf of my members at the accusation that we are an extreme right-wing organisation. Clearly the Rev Haslam has his own agenda — misguided though it may be — but such unchristian comments do him and his cause no service.

The Rev compounds his shocking display of ignorance by stating that no serious research has been done to support the belief that there are substantial numbers of bogus asylum-seekers.

Wrong, Rev Haslam — Home Office figures prove that the vast majority of asylum claims are without merit. My members are in constant contact with bogus asylum-seekers, but unlike you, are not so gullible as to believe everything they are told.

Unfortunately, while there are people like Rev Haslam at large the intractable problem of bogus asylum-seekers will persist unchecked, preventing us from assisting those who are most at risk — the genuine applicants.
E H Church.
Director of Information & Research, Immigration Service Union, Harwich.

We do not publish letters in which only e-mail addresses are supplied; please include a full postal address and ensure e-mails are text-only. We may edit submissions.

## Porter's brief on losing Lord Neill

AS solicitor to Dame Shirley Porter, can I put the record straight concerning the unprecedented situation in which we find ourselves following the withdrawal of Lord Neill (New row as Neill drops Porter, June 24)?

In February of this year, Lord Neill joined the team of lawyers advising Dame Shirley. Bearing in mind his position as chairman of the Committee on Standards in Public Life, there were lengthy discussions with Lord Neill as to whether there was any conflict of interest.

Following careful consideration, he concluded there was no conflict of interest and therefore he was able to act for Dame Shirley. Over the next few months, Lord Neill gave us the benefit of his views on various aspects of the case, including the prejudice arising from the unfairness in the way in which Dame Shirley was treated by the auditor.

Lord Neill was to attend a hearing before the Court of Appeal on June 22, in order to obtain leave to appeal, but quite unexpectedly, on the Thursday before that hearing (June 18), we heard from the Court of Appeal that leave had been granted.

As a result of what Dame Shirley has described as political hounding, Lord Neill has now withdrawn. This is a serious matter as it denies her the right to be represented by the counsel of her choice.

The fact that leave has been granted to Dame Shirley is an indication that the Court of Appeal recognises there are matters which should be argued. I can only hope that the antagonism and prejudice towards her, which has culminated in the personal attack on Lord Neill, will abate before the appeal hearing.
Alan Langleben.
Nicholson Graham & Jones,
London.

## Ear piece

AS a freelance photographer a mobile phone would be extremely useful (Ringing the changes, June 25). However, I wear a hearing aid (as do 2 million others in Britain). Hering aid and mobile phone signals react in a loud screech, rendering them incompatible.

Perhaps the phone companies could invent something in this area.
Chris Rydlewski.
Bristol.

## Some ways of breaking up are harder than others

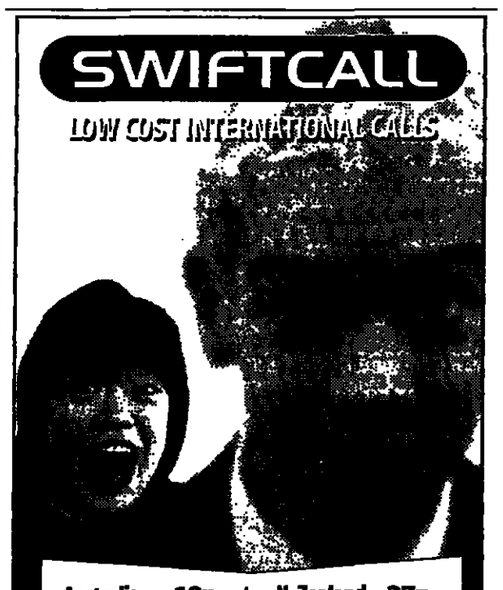
RESEARCH has its limitations, most of which Polly Toynbee pointed out in her comment on the Rowntree Foundation review of the effects of separation and divorce on children (It did work out for me, June 24). Yet she missed the key message: that we should not concentrate on divorce as a single, life-changing event, but rather as a process which begins long before the divorce decree is granted and continues into the world of post-divorce parenting.

Well-trained health professionals can offer support to couples in the early years of family life and in the early stages of relationship difficulties. As a result, these families may find ways of coping and staying together, but even if they choose to separate, they are more likely to be aware of and sensitive to the impact on their children.

Polly Toynbee suggests that behind the research lies a fantasy picture of a blissful couple that never was. It would be fairer to say that there lies an understanding that marriage has changed and relationships are fragile. Yet people want them to work, and although relationships must be handled with care, it does not mean they will inevitably break.
Penny Mansfield.
Director, One Plus One,
The Marriage & Partnership Research Charity, London.

WHILE poverty is undoubtedly a major cause of family break-ups and dysfunctional families, lack of money is nothing but a simplistic answer to a deeper problem. Children need to perceive unconditional love and concern from their parents to help develop a healthy self-esteem. This remains the most crucial prerequisite for producing happy, balanced children, and no degree of poverty alleviation could ever compensate.
Shane Christian Dean.
Leicester.

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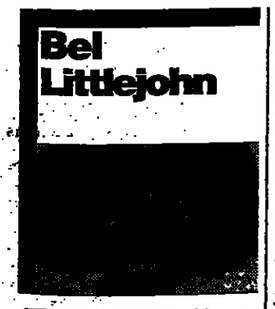


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# Rebranding Her Maj

**Bel Littlejohn**



ELIZABETH: Simon. Simon: Elizabeth. I know you're going to make a truly terrific team — yup, I can feel the chemistry flowing already!!!!

Last week, it was my pleasure and privilege to introduce Her Majesty to her new communications secretary, my good mate Simon Lewis, bless him. The headhunting arm of my own PR company, Bel and Frendz, had brokered the match for a very modest fee (2 per cent on all Royal engagements over the next six months, since you ask). Frankly, I knew Simon was our guy the moment he started waxing lyrical about building on the 99 per cent brand identification of the Royal Family.

"We've gotta truly great product, Bel — it's just stuck in a bygone age," he enthused over a sparkling mineral water at The Pharmacy.

"Look at Brylcreem, Bel — just three years ago, it was perceived as very fifties, very Max Bygraves, very Eric Morley, very been there, done that. But we gave it a thorough image-hosedown, Bel, attuned it to access the aspirational needs of the expanding youth community, and completely turned round its performance, worldwide.

"Well, Bel, I believe we can do a Brylcreem on the Royals. In 18 months' time they could be as big as Stella McCartney or the VW Sharan. And if I didn't believe that, Bel, I wouldn't be sitting here today. Truly."

I breathed a sigh of relief. My quest was at an end.

Confidentially, I'd been through one helluva lot of names in my address book, but none of them had managed to maintain the delicate balance between the traditional and the modern the product required.

For instance, Max Clifford was interested — and I have a helluva lot of respect for Max — but basically I considered his plans to place stories in the quality press about Prince Edward's engagement to Geri Halliwell and to have Prince Philip photographed out clubbing it with Ulrika Johnson just a *bit* too bold for the upmarket niche we intend to access.

But Simon Lewis is the dream ticket. I first met him earlier this year at a top-secret private seminar of Peter Mandelson's, called "Dobson: The Way Forward".

Having identified Frank Dobson as a potential negative Cabinet resource, Peter had hand-picked our focus group to facilitate access to Frank's consumer-friendly assets, if any. Simon's four-point plan — a) lose beard; b) lose grin; c) lose accent; d) lose weight — hit the nail on the head; and his final suggestion, to access public sympathy Blunkett-style by giving Frank a dog and a white stick, was a stroke of genius. Magic!

When I presented Simon to Her Maj, I could tell they were going to make beautiful music together. "It was very good of you to come here today," said The Queen, beckoning him to take a seat.

"Sorry!" said Simon. His mobile phone was ringing in his pocket. "Won't be a sec!"

While he took the call, The Queen and I chatted about me. I told her I had a new book out in the autumn, Hug Me While I Weep For I Weep For The World. She said: "How interesting." I told her I could get it for her at a discount if she wanted. At that point, Simon ended his call. "Hokey-cokey! Sounds great! Will do! See ya," he said, before hanging up.

WE resumed our head-banging. The Queen asked Simon about his plans for the future of the monarchy. "First off, we've got a mammoth consumer perception-blip to iron out," said Simon. "Putting it crudely, to the public out there you're remote. Don't get me wrong. That's not necessarily a bad thing. We're talking Michael Jackson, we're talking Voyager, we're talking Kubrick, we're talking Cloudy Bay. Remote can be key. But if you want to maximise remote, you've got to cut down on the smiling and waving and chatting. They're sending out all the wrong signals, right?"

The Queen quickly lost her smile. "I like it!" said Simon, encouragingly. He then looked across the room at a family photograph. "Who's the old guy, then?" he asked. The Queen replied that it was her husband, Prince Philip. Simon sighed. "Houston, we have a problem," he said. He looked The Queen full in the face and gave it to her straight: "We're gonna have to lose him, love," he said. "Let's face it, he's just not *Now*, is he?"

I could tell from Her Majesty's glances from one side of the room to the other that the two of them had clicked, so I crept away ("ciao, Elizabeth! ciao; Simon!"), leaving the two of them to get on with it.

Communication: it's only a short word, or at most a medium to long word, but it means so much. Send for the experts! Nuff said.

Executive Financial Editor: Ben Clissitt
Financial Editor: Alex Brummer
Telephone: 0171-239-9610
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Finance Guardian

# 7-2 vote sealed rise in rates

**Mark Atkinson and Larry Elliott**

THE City's strong conviction that this month's rise in interest rates was the result of a knife-edge vote on the Bank of England's monetary policy committee is set to be shattered when the minutes of the meeting reveal that seven members were in favour of increasing the cost of borrowing, the Guardian has learned.

Despite figures yesterday showing manufacturing orders at a five-year low, the weight of opinion in favour of June 4's quarter-point rise in interest rates suggests there could be further increases in the pipeline if inflationary pressures don't subside quickly.

When the shock decision to raise rates to 7.5 per cent was announced, it was immediately assumed that the vote had been close, with five of the nine-strong committee in favour of an increase and four against.

This assumption was based on two previous votes showing a 4-4 split, which were resolved in favour of no change in the rate by Bank of England governor Eddie George using his casting vote.

In June, when John Vickers joined the committee from Oxford University, taking it to full strength, he is thought to have fulfilled expectations by voting with the other four academics — Alan Budd, Willem Buiter, Charles Goodhart and Mervyn King — in favour of an interest rate rise. City analysts said at the time that this would have left Mr George heading the defeated group of four.

It is understood, however, that Mr George also voted for a rate rise, his mind changed by the possible inflationary implications of an acceleration in average earnings.

Ian Plenderleith, the Bank's markets chief, is also understood to have switched sides, leaving David Clementi and DeAnne Julius, the MPC's leading dove, to vote against the move.

"Clementi is a great admirer of Julius and shares her analysis of the economy," a Westminster source said.

Even before this month's increase in the cost of borrowing, Ms Julius, who voted for a rate cut at May's meeting, was on record as saying that she thought policy was already too tight at this stage of the economic cycle, when growth is already beginning to slow down.

Mr Clementi, who joined the Bank from Dresdner Kleinwort Benson last year, is also thought to be sceptical of the inflationary dangers of City bonuses, which have distorted average earnings data.

While the voting pattern of this month's MPC meeting will come as a surprise in the City, it does not automatically follow that rates will be increased again.

Economic news since the meeting has been mixed, with a further acceleration in average earnings and a sharp jump in retail sales offset by the first rise in unemployment in two years, an increase in the value of the pound and continued evidence of weakness in manufacturing.

"An easing in domestic orders now seems to be adding to manufacturers' problems as export orders are still being held down by the strength of sterling," said Sudhir Junankar, the Confederation of British Industry's director of economic analysis.

The bleakness of the export outlook, compounded by dwindling demand from Asia, was underlined by separate figures from the Office for National Statistics showing the non-EU trade deficit widening to £1,603 million, the largest on record, in May from £769 million in April.

April's global trade deficit was £1,390 million, down slightly from £1,538 million.

# CBI chief attacks euro scare stories

**Mark Atkinson Economics Correspondent**

BUSINESS leaders rallied to the cause of the euro yesterday, saying adopting it would be good for Britain and accusing opponents of peddling "ill-informed scare stories" about the new currency.

In a week which has seen the Sun restate the Eurosceptics' case, Adair Turner, director general of the Confederation of British Industry, said many of the arguments advanced against the euro were fallacious.

While acknowledging that joining the new currency zone was not risk free, he urged opponents to focus on the valid arguments rather than presenting a "simplistic one-sided picture".

He told the CBI south-eastern region annual dinner, that it was not true that flexible exchange rates were an essential safety valve to offset variations in cost inflation and competitiveness. "Look at how exchange rates actually move over three- to five-year periods and they are as likely to go in a perverse direction — increasing cost competitiveness and the need for labour market flexibility — as they are to move in the direction required," he said.

The importance of oil to the UK economy is often cited as a reason for keeping a separate currency. But Mr Turner said European Monetary Union membership would buffer the UK from outside events, like oil price rises, which could otherwise lead to the pound rising too high and driving non-oil companies out of business.

He said the cost of converting tills and cash point machines was not a valid objection. "No rational person would either go ahead with the euro simply to cut transaction costs, or stay out to avoid the one-off investments, which in many cases would represent an acceleration of required technology upgrades."

Mr Turner said the euro would create a single market of transparent prices, reduced exchange rate risk and a pan-European capital market, all of which would boost competition and productivity.

EMU entry was probably the only way of escaping the impact of exchange rate overshoots. "I hope that we will not have a hard landing for the UK economy — but if we do, it will have a lot to do with exchange rate overshoots," he said.

## Notebook

# How companies crack the code



Lisa Buckingham

IGNORE all the warnings and doom laden predictions. Yesterday's Combined Code on corporate governance from the Stock Exchange contained no terrors. Nothing new at all. Certainly, nothing which is going to give boardrooms even one sleepless night.

The combined code is exactly what it says: an attempt to bring together the best of the recommendations from the Cadbury, Greenbury and Hampel committees.

The weakness of this latest tome rests not so much in the contents of the code itself — which have been widely discussed and, in the case of the contributions from Hampel, widely dismissed — but in the fact that it continues to be voluntary.

Quoted companies risk losing their stock exchange listing only if they fail to publish a statement in the annual report on whether they are applying the code and if not, why not.

Now, clearly this is an aid to transparency. Shareholders can see whether companies conform and make a judgement.

It is also unarguable that corporate governance standards in this country have improved substantially in the past five or six years even though the major pressure has been that of peer group best practice.

But there remain glaring examples of companies which refuse to have anything to do with the new-fangled nonsense of corporate governance. And while shareholders remain largely supine this is unlikely to change.

Look at Associated British Foods. Every year the company publishes a corporate governance compliance statement which verges on the ludicrous in its sheer defiance. The company follows best practice *except* on some central recommendations where it simply disagrees with the codes and continues to flout them.

ABF is, of course, in the fortunate position that its major shareholder is Wittington Investments, the family company of its combined chairman and chief executive, Gary Weston.

The foods group has also escaped wider censure for its non-conformist behaviour because it routinely turns in a performance which would encourage even hard-nosed governance crusaders to turn a blind eye.

But, the point is that ABF has not actually broken the rules. It conforms by publishing the compliance statement rather than complying.

The Stock Exchange argues it cannot make compliance part of the listing requirements because this would penalise quoted companies against their unlisted competitors. Changes to the Company's Act would be needed.

So far, the system of non-statutory regulation has encouraged some improved corporate behaviour and has provided better transparency which gives shareholders the chance to flirt with the idea of taking action against anything they do not like.

But although modern corporate governance standards were born from the ashes of recession, they have yet to be tested in the fires of downturn. The heat of battle is not a place to rely on volunteers.

## Job lots

THERE have been Whitbread and Sitel and Prudential and Scottish and even Peter Mandelson's Millennium Dome project. Yesterday it was the turn of Asda. All these are just recent examples of a blighted trend which has taken to presenting almost every corporate expansion in terms of the numbers of jobs which will be created.

Look behind the headline figures, however, and the truth is far less glossy than the companies would have us believe.

Only last month BT said it was creating 470 new jobs at a telephone call centre on Tyneside. Twentysix of those posts — just 5 per cent — were full-time jobs.

Pubs and restaurants have high head counts but jobs are almost invariably poorly paid and part time.

Even the super-slick publicity machine of Archie Norman's Asda supermarkets group was forced to start talking about "pay packets" in order to escape the fact that the 4,000 jobs of which it had boasted first thing in the morning were actually only the equivalent of 2,500 full-time posts.

And cruelly, companies are now tending to tot up the vacancies expected over a two or three year period. British Airways, for example, recently announced 15,000 jobs at Heathrow and Gatwick — so long as most applicants can hold on for three years.

When it comes to getting rid of employees there is no such confusion; Scottish & Newcastle, the leisure group which created thousands of "new" jobs, recently cut just 300. Diageo will axe 850 from distilleries in Scotland and Essex over the next year.

It is hard to blame publicity departments for wanting to present the best possible picture. That is their job. The fashion used to be to announce all planned expansion in terms of capital expenditure and, later, store openings.

Now it is done in terms of job vacancies. The corporate sector, which is now enthusiastically supporting the Government's new deal employment scheme for youngsters, long ago decided that the fastest way to a politician's heart was to seen to be helping solve the problem of unemployment.

All this may wash in Whitehall, but how many families will the new style jobs clothe and feed?

## Lesson in home economics




Next is prominent in the British high street, but had too few stores to advertise abroad

PHOTOGRAPH: GRAHAM TURNER

# Next admits that it cannot sell to foreigners

**Jill Treanor**

NEXT, the fashion retailer, is closing its seven overseas stores, becoming the latest in a long line of British companies which have found it difficult to sell abroad.

The seven shops — five in the US, one in France and one in Belgium — racked up £3.4 million of trading losses on turnover of £6.7 million in the financial year to January 1998. Next also took an exceptional charge of £3.6 million for the fixtures and fittings in these stores.

"These stores have not achieved our financial objectives and therefore do not justify further expansion or investment at this time," Next said. Next will continue to trade overseas by forming franchise partnerships, of which it had 43 at the end of the last financial year. The Leicester-based company is in good company by admitting to suffering the wrath of overseas shoppers. Other high-profile examples have been Marks & Spencer, Body Shop and Laura Ashley.

One retail analyst said: "The two most difficult things to sell overseas are clothes, particularly fashion, and food. The problem is not appreciating the cultural differences, and the cultural differences are huge."

The US market can be particularly difficult to conquer, with consumers particularly price and brand sensitive. They also demand regular changes to products offered.

Time is another important factor. "It's taken Marks & Spencer 20 years to become successful overseas," the analyst said. "And even now M&S has been coming under pressure for spending money abroad."

With just seven stores outside the UK, Next did not have a large enough overseas presence to advertise in the local markets or develop brand recognition. By expanding through franchises, Next aims to overcome this problem by utilising their local expertise.

Few fashion retailers have found it possible to replicate their domestic successes overseas. Gap, with its basic clothing line, has appealed to customers outside the US while Stockholm-based Hennes & Mauritz is making more abroad than it does in its home markets, finding its cheap, fashion lines popular with German shoppers.

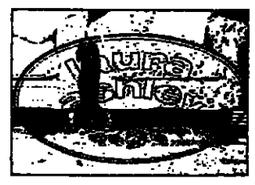
Some British companies have been successful in the US. Clive Vaughan, research manager at Verdict, singles out Signet, the jeweller rescued from the Ratners chain after Gerald Ratner's reference to "crap" stock, which is now "largely a US business".

### Big over here. Not so big over there




**Body Shop**
DESPITE having a strong international brand, Body Shop has lost money in the US and sales are continuing to plummet. It is buying out disgruntled American franchisees and has set up a joint venture there with Adrian Bellamy in an attempt to turn the business round.

The operation still boasts more than 1,500 stores in 47 countries, which means it has been one of the successful British companies overseas excluding the US.



**Laura Ashley**
AT ONE point the City feared Laura Ashley's disastrous push in the US would bring the retailer to its knees.

Recognised for its "Englishness", Laura Ashley is now closing the 150-store US chain, through which it had ambitious plans to sell home furnishings, after failing to entice American shoppers in any significant number. It makes money from operations in continental Europe and Asia, though.




**Marks & Spencer**
CANADIAN shoppers were particularly unimpressed by M&S though it still has 43 stores. The chain has put on hold plans to open in Australia and is suffering elswhere in the Pacific Rim.

M&S has taken a long time to turn around its upmarket US clothing chain, Brooks Brothers, but it is successful in many other overseas markets. It has 37 stores in Europe and 53 franchises. In the Far East it has 10 stores and 33 franchises.

# Imro expels unit trust's compliance head for life

**Liz Stuart**

IMRO, the investment watchdog, has banned a unit trust company's head of compliance for life after it uncovered a series of "very serious failings".

The ban is harsher than that for the compliance team at Morgan Grenfell Unit Trust Managers after the £600 million Peter Young fiasco.

Charles Corder, formerly head of administration and compliance at Waverley Unit Trust Management, was found to be trading on his and his wife's account without recording details correctly. When Imro carried out a check, Mr Corder tampered with records.

This is the fourth time Imro has withdrawn an individual's registration. Graham Kane, managing director of MGUTM when disgraced fund manager Peter Young was investing in unlisted equities, was banned for just 16 months.

Imro has also fined Waverley £75,000 plus £53,600 in costs for failing to monitor staff and record information correctly. When Imro examined the books, it was impossible to tell which dealings were on staff accounts and which were carried out on behalf of clients. Mr Corder's dealings should have been signed off by the investment director, but were not.

Imro can fine individuals, but has never done so as the sum would be limited to the ability to pay. The severity of the fines imposed on the unit trust group may be academic, Waverley is being wound up by its trustees, Clydesdale Bank, and its parent company the Chartfield Group is about to go into liquidation following the Personal Investment Authority's intervention over fears of insolvency.

TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS

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| Austria 20.54 | Greece 491.88 | Malta 0.636 | South Africa 8.88 |
| Belgium 60.21 | Hong Kong 12.57 | Netherlands 3.273 | Spain 248.23 |
| Canada 2.379 | India 71.14 | New Zealand 3.17 | Sweden 12.89 |
| Cyprus 0.856 | Ireland 1.148 | Norway 12.36 | Switzerland 2.46 |
| Denmark 11.16 | Israel 6.10 | Portugal 298.89 | Turkey 424,490 |
| Finland 8.959 | Italy 2,883 | Saudi Arabia 6.15 | USA 1.624 |
| France 9.767 | | | |

*Supplied by NatWest (excluding rupee, shekel and notes)*

# Asda plans home shopping by digital television

**Tony May**

ASDA is to launch a grocery delivery service and online sales of home entertainment. It also plans to try selling non-food products by satellite television as a first step towards running its own digital television home shopping channel.

Asda said such ventures were its preferred way forward and sought to end speculation that it was looking for a merger as a way of countering intense competition in a mature market with softening consumer demand.

Analysts said that while this strategy would work for the next five years they were concerned about long-term growth.

In the past two years the group has held talks with both Safeway and Kingfisher and has looked at buying high street stores from Littlewoods and motorway service stations. Each time it has walked away.

Yesterday the chairman, Archie Norman MP, who is also vice-chairman of the Conservative Party, said: "We are not in search of a deal. If other large businesses are interested in our market and want to work together and come to talk to us, it seems sensible to listen. But it doesn't happen often."

Announcing a 14.4 per cent rise in profits to £404 million for the past year, chief executive Allan Leighton said he aims to see off rivals like Tesco, Sainsbury and Safeway by promoting a no-frills, value-for-money offer across food and, increasingly, non-food products.

He said sales of Asda's George clothing range had jumped 30 per cent in a year when the clothing market as a whole had risen by 5 per cent. Asda was now close to becoming a £1 billion-a-year clothes retailer.

Asda was also, he claimed, was Britain's biggest Indian takeaway provider and biggest pizza retailer by volume with a 25 per cent market share in fresh pizza.

He plans to rebuild six stores this year and open a further six, including a drive-through store at Canterbury, Kent. This would create 4,000 posts — the equivalent of 2,500 full-time jobs.

The home delivery service will be based in south London and backed by a call centre, enabling Asda to target around 450,000 households within a six-mile radius. This will create a further 170 jobs.

Customers will be able to order groceries through a catalogue containing 5,000 lines, delivered free to their homes.

Mr Leighton said the break-even for home delivery would be 500 orders per day at an average of £80 each. The warehouse would be built to handle around 1,000 orders daily.

Online home shopping services should be available by October, initially in stores and through call centres. Mr Leighton wants to take this service on to the Internet, incorporating home entertainment and grocery shopping.

All this will be the precursor to an Asda digital TV channel. The first taste of this will come when this year's Christmas range is launched through a series of six-minute satellite TV programmes.

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# BA wins airline subsidy battle

Julie Wolf in Brussels

BRITISH Airways yesterday scored a victory in its campaign against state aid for airlines when judges in Luxembourg ruled against a European Commission decision to approve £2 billion in state aid to Air France.

The Court of First Instance in Luxembourg said the commission did not provide adequate reasoning for allowing Air France to use Ff11.5 billion (£1.15 billion) of the aid to purchase 17 new aircraft. It had failed to look into the impact the aid would have on routes outside Europe and on feeder flights by smaller airlines into Charles de Gaulle Airport.

"Today's decision ... sends a clear message to every state airline in Europe that the future lies in private hands, not in the pocket of the taxpayer," a BA spokesman said.

The court said the commission had not provided sufficient justification on two aspects of the subsidy. The ruling does not automatically force Air France to repay the funds, but it introduces uncertainty ahead of the airline's planned partial flotation this year.

The European Commission said it had not decided how to respond to the ruling, which can be appealed in the full European Court of Justice. Such a move would delay a final outcome in the case for about two years.

Apart from lodging an appeal, the commission could reissue its 1994 decision taking into account the views of the court. A spokeswoman refused to comment on the possibility of ordering Air France to repay some or all of the money.

Lawyers and Air France's rivals said that whatever the commission decides, the court had set a precedent that will make it harder for the commission to approve state subsidies to airlines and other companies.

"This is of course a victory of justice, as well as for common sense," said SAS, one of the several airlines that brought the case. The court's judgment also covered a separate case brought by British Midland against the aid. Britain and several other European governments intervened on behalf of BA, SAS and KLM.

Air France and the French government played down the significance of the ruling, saying that the court had questioned the commission's written reasoning, not the legality of the decision itself. Moreover, the court raised questions on only two of the many points challenged by the airlines.

French officials said the judgment would not affect the timing of the partial sale of the airline. The officials hinted that the matter could be resolved soon.

But lawyers involved in the case said it would not be easy for the commission to find a quick solution. Given that EU competition rules bar state aid from being used to fund normal operating costs, the commission will have difficulty finding an argument to justify the purchase of the aircraft, said one lawyer for BA and the other airlines.

The payment to Air France was part of a wave of government bailouts to airlines as the European Union prepared to open the airline sector to full competition. The other big rescue packages to carriers including Spain's Iberia and Greece's Olympic have not been challenged in court. But the payment to Air France incensed rivals, who argued that it was rushed through the commission under heavy pressure from the French government.

## Blessing in disguise

YESTERDAY'S judgment could prove a blessing in disguise for the European Commission whose founding treaties give it responsibility for vetting state subsidies to ensure that they do not distort competition in Europe.

Once, it was reluctant to use this power to the full. But the gradual opening up of many sectors to greater competition and the creation of the single market increased pressure for a tougher stance and a succession of competition commissioners, including Peter Sutherland, Sir Leon Brittan and — currently — Karel van Miert, stepped up policing of state aid.

But refusing to allow governments to bail out ailing industries is a political minefield. Mr Van Miert, for example, faced intense criticism in his home country, Belgium when he blocked aid to steel maker Clabecq.

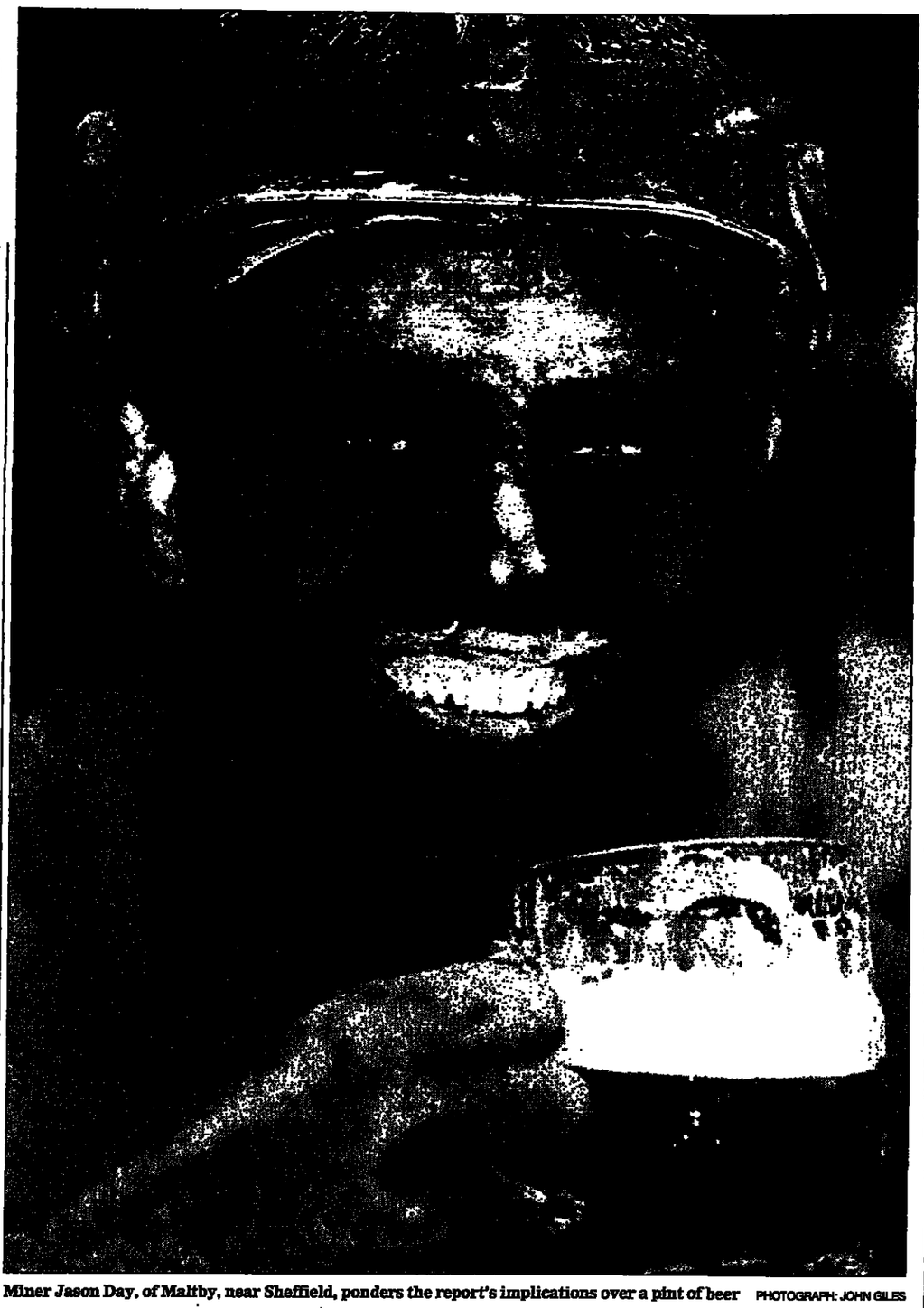
As they are unelected and appointed by governments, this kind of political flak can be dangerous.

Mr Van Miert and Transport Commissioner Neil Kinnock have vowed to stand firm on state subsidies, although critics argue there are more words than deeds.

Some lawyers believe the court ruling will increase the commission's leverage when dealing with governments on state aid cases.

# Should this miner be toasting the energy review? Perhaps

Celia Weston on the long awaited report



Miner Jason Day, of Maltby, near Sheffield, ponders the report's implications over a pint of beer PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN GILES

THE Government's energy review is intended to create secure, diverse and sustainable supplies of energy at competitive prices, Margaret Beckett, the Trade and Industry Secretary, said last night.

But publication of the long-awaited review failed to remove uncertainty about the future of deep-mine pits or gas-fired power stations because its recommendations are to go out for further consultation.

Mrs Beckett said that the Government was proposing to remove distortions in the wholesale electricity market and to be stricter about granting consents for new gas-fired power stations. Ministers will also encourage the electricity industry regulator to insist that the big three power generators — PowerGen, National Power and Eastern — sell some of their coal-fired power stations to other companies to help create more competition.

The proposals are intended to create more space for coal to compete as a generation fuel against nuclear and gas, but they stop far short of guaranteeing the future of deep mines or a specific market share for coal.

Comments from industry and consumers are invited, up to July 20.

The review document says: "Coal purchase decisions are a commercial matter for generators." But if British coal can compete on price and other terms of supply "there is no reason why it cannot have a very positive future in the electricity generation market".

Achieving that success was a matter for the management and workforce of coal producers, it says. "Decisions on any possible pit closures would also be a matter for coal producers," the document says.

It adds that "the Government is firmly committed to taking early action to put effective regeneration programmes in place" and will consider a special fund to help communities that lose their mines.

The consultation document says that representations to the review have revealed widespread concern about distortions in the electricity market "which give the wrong signal to investors, keep prices high to the disadvantage of customers and give an unfair advantage to gas over coal".

The Government is now calling for a new stricter energy policy on giving consents to build gas-fired power stations. Any which have not gained all the necessary consents — an estimated dozen projects representing about an additional 6GW of power, enough to meet peak demand from 2.5 million consumers — will be left in limbo until after the further consultation period. They will then be considered on a case-by-case basis.

Henceforth, the assumption would be that new gas-fired generation would "normally be inconsistent with the Government's energy policy concerns relating to diversity and security of supply", the document says.

However, the benefits of projects with an environmental component — such as energy-efficient combined heat and power projects — and those which can meet nearby heat and electricity requirements may be permitted because they "outweigh our concern over new gas-fired generation".

An estimated 9GW of capacity from gas-fired stations is already under construction or due to come on line, which would take the proportion of electricity generated by gas-fired plant to nearly 50 per cent.

The energy policy proposals would be consistent with Government environment policy and with achieving the legally-binding cuts in greenhouse gas emissions for which ministers signed at the Kyoto world climate change conference and within the European Union.

Coal fired generators would, however, have to take "all reasonable steps" to help tackle sulphur dioxide emissions by using flue gas desulphurisation and the large coal-fired generating companies should be encouraged to have at least one FGD-equipped plant.

## Gas facts

**As part of its energy review, the Government commissioned a report from consultants Wood Mackenzie on the future of gas. It concluded that:**

**☐ Gas demand is likely to grow faster than energy demand in general. If there were no restrictions on the building of gas-fired power stations, by 2020 it could account for more than three quarters of UK electricity generation.**

**☐ The UK has large gas reserves and in the short term there is more supply than demand. However, by 2020 we may need to import as much as 90 per cent of the nation's requirements**

**☐ The most likely source in the next few years will be Norway, but eventually Britain will have to look for supplies outside Europe. The EU as a whole is likely to need to bring in 75 per cent of its gas supplies from outside the trading block by 2020. The EU's dependency on imported oil is projected to increase to 83 per cent by the same year.**

**☐ Existing coal-fired plant is capable of generating more cheaply on an avoidable cost basis than new gas-fired plant, after taking into account the cost of construction, However, electricity pool and contract prices have remained above these levels, giving an economic incentive to new gas-fired stations.**




# Chaos warning over sale of air traffic control

Keith Harper
Transport Editor

THE Government's partial sell-off of Britain's £600 million national air traffic service could take place while the transfer to a new centre is in chaos, the service's chief executive admitted yesterday.

Bill Semple, head of Nats, said that the sell-off of 51 per cent might not raise the £300 million the Government could be seeking because of continuing uncertainty surrounding the completion of the project.

Mr Semple declared: "It is one thing to sell the company at reduced value, but it is another to sell it at a fairly inflated value with a system that is not complete."

He said the sell-off was planned for 2000 and would require legislation.

It could occur, however, while Nats was still investigating if the new centre at Swanwick, Hampshire, was safe.

Plans to open the centre have been continually delayed because the £160 million new technology at Swanwick keeps failing.

Mr Semple said the faults at Swanwick might not be cleared up by then, but they would make no difference to the sale.

The Government has announced an immediate investigation into the project, but Mr Semple said that there were no "major software problems".

He hoped the new centre would be open in the winter of 1999-2000 but, if that failed, it would have to wait at least another year.

Swanwick is due to assume responsibility for air traffic control from West Drayton, near Heathrow.

The 30-year-old centre will be gradually closed once it has been established that Swanwick is safe.

The Government's decision to offer a set of reviews as substitute for "tackling the real problems" facing air traffic controls in the skies above Britain was attacked last night by IPMS, the union representing some 3,500 controllers.

Joe Magee, the union's aviation officer, said: "The difficulties besetting the Swanwick project show it is better to get the decision right in the first place than clean up the consequences of a rush to judgment for years to come."

Ministers had offered no explanation as to why they supported privatisation, which was regarded as a threat to air safety.

Nats says that it has not got the capital to invest the £100 million required to expand the service over the next 10 years.

## News in brief

### BAA sets sights on New York airport

BAA was last night finalising a bid to further its American expansion by running the retail, food and drinks outlets at Newark airport, New York's second largest airport with an annual throughput of 30 million passengers.

If the multi-million dollar contract is confirmed, BAA would extend its base in the United States, as part of expansion plans to run airports overseas. It is already operating Pittsburg, where it has helped to raise average retail spending per passenger from $2.40 to more than $7, and Indianapolis, where it has guaranteed savings of $32 million as part of a 10-year contract to manage an airport system that includes a heliport. — *Keith Harper and Lisa Buckingham*

### Indonesia signs with IMF

A$41 BILLION package to bail out Indonesia's stricken economy was back on track yesterday after it signed a new deal with the International Monetary Fund.

The agreement is the fourth since Indonesia's economy was hit by the Asian financial crisis. But Jakarta's failure to implement the economic reforms demanded by the Fund has stymied delivery of any money so far.

### Barclays loses appeal

BARCLAYS Bank has lost its appeal against a 1996 court ruling in which a former employee was awarded £42,500 in damages plus costs.

Bob French, a former executive, had sued the bank for breach of contract when it withdrew an interest-rate free bridging loan. The judges hearing the case said Barclays should not have charged Mr French interest on the loan when the property market collapsed.

Barclays said it was studying the judgement carefully. Unifi, the trade union, said it had 39 similar cases which it hoped would now be settled quickly as a result of the decision by the Court of Appeal.

### Guardian chairman's £24m

BOB Gavron, the founder and former chairman of the St Ives printing group, is expected to net nearly £24 million from selling 4.6 million shares in the company. Mr Gavron, who is now chairman of the Guardian Media Group, retired as a non-executive director of St Ives yesterday and said he intends to sell his remaining two million shares in the foreseeable future.

# Pension rights limited

Teresa Hunter

A HIGH Court has condemned retired employees to a form of second-class citizenship after ruling that only the current workforce has full membership of a pension scheme, and can share in the maximum benefits available.

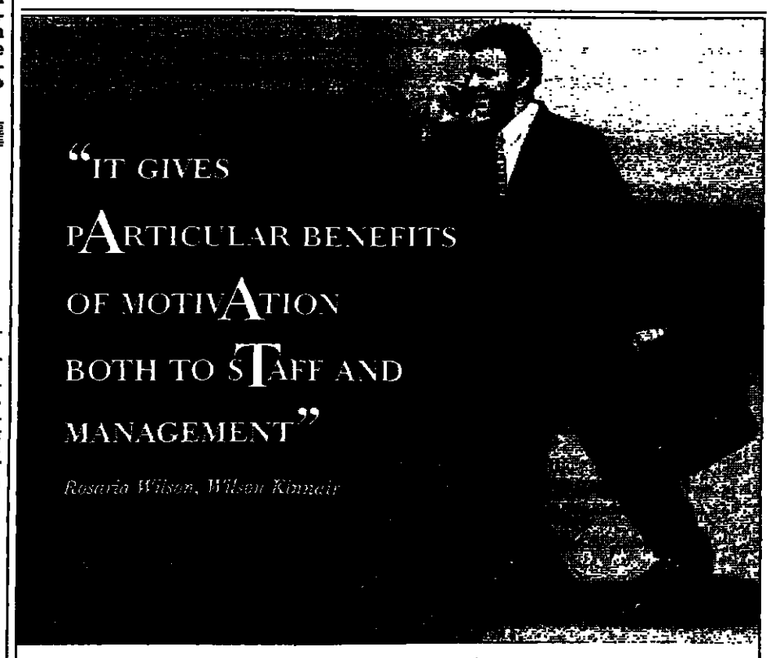
More than 5,000 former employees of the Express Newspaper Group had applied for annual inflation-linked upratings in line with those guaranteed to other members.

Mr Ronald Cowell, secretary of the Express Pensioners Association told the court that he had been denied any pension increases since he was made redundant in 1986, despite substantial surpluses in the fund.

While his pension had been seriously eroded by inflation, the company had enjoyed contribution holidays for nearly a decade, whittling a large surplus down to £30 million.

But the court rejected his plea that the surplus should be spent on 3 per cent annual increases for disadvantaged pensioners in line with those awarded to most other members of the scheme, saying existing pensioners were not full members.

The judgment declared that while the scheme rules had not explicitly outlawed these increases they had never intended to pay them to nearly 3,000 pensioners and 2,000 former employees.




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# Old Masters make debut



Back home: some of the 80 Old Master drawings at the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool, right, including Rubens' God Creating Adam, after Michelangelo, bottom right

PHOTOGRAPHS: CHRIS THOMOND

David Ward

HIGHLIGHTS from a collection of Old Master drawings assembled in Liverpool 200 years ago but never exhibited in public went on show yesterday, to the delight of gallery staff who rejoiced that Liverpool was at last getting its pictures back.

The show at the Walker Art Gallery consists of 80 drawings, by Mantegna and other, mainly Italian, artists from the 15th to the 17th centuries, selected from a total of 331 bought three years ago for £3.2 million.

"This is a remarkable collection built up over the years by a discerning and renowned art lover," said Xanthe Brooke, the Walker's curator of European art, enthusing over God Creating Adam, Rubens' copy of a detail of Michelangelo's ceiling in the Sistine Chapel. "Drawing such as these do not appear every day of the week. We are proud that they have at last come home and that people can see and appreciate them for the first time. They are in beautiful condition because they have never been on show."

The discerning art lover was Charles Blundell of Ince Blundell Hall, north of Liverpool, whose collection included 116 works reluctantly sold by William Roscoe, the Liverpool banker, opponent of slavery and patron of the arts, to stave off bankruptcy in 1816.

Blundell's collection, with its Roscoe core, remained in portfolios in drawers at the ancestral home until the family moved to Lulworth in Dorset in 1960, where they remained out of sight until now.

"It's very rare for collections of this kind to remain intact," said Julian Treuherz, keeper of art galleries on Merseyside. "I received a letter saying the collection was on offer — originally at £4.5 million — and did we want it?"

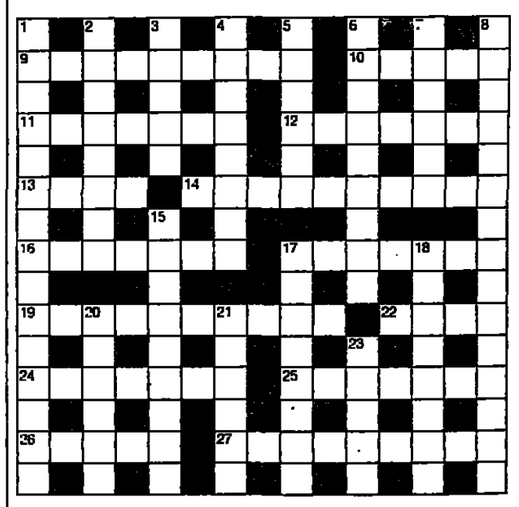
National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside hastily put in £700,000 of its own money, secured £2.2 million from the National Heritage Memorial Fund, £300,000 from the National Arts Collection Fund and funds from private donors.

The exhibition moves to the British Museum in October.



## Guardian Crossword No 21,311

Set by Rover



### Across

9 One who waits in train? (9)
10 Gather up (5)
11 German editor in supermarket (7)
12 An esquire, one left from shaky marriage (7)
13 Play: 'The Return of Othello' (4)
14 Leave soldiers time to develop an area of responsibility (10)
16 Anonymous place where brave explorers go (7)
17 Kind of green fruit (7)
19 We've all seen them go, OK strayed away (10)
22 Country (not city) mail order (4)
24 Composer in French is serious (7)
25 Time when thraves are tossed about (7)
26 One who misused rifle? (5)
27 Three girls in one (9)

### Down

1 Are these flowers found in a ring? (10,5)
2 It records the parents of Nijinsky, but not Don Juan (8)
3 Anxiety hangs tangibly within (5)
4 Did he play the game on Elba? (8)
5 Classes mounting a fresh start (6)
6 Advance suspiciously into piano-room (9)
7 Unmarried one (6)
8 Do these bodies share their skeletons in the cupboard? (6,9)
15 Safer robe designed for fathers (9)
17 It goes in Liberty Hall (8)
18 Revived by the sun, perhaps, and a week off (8)
20 Trouble and its partner? (6)
21 Dorothy has time to show overlondness (6)
23 Novel kind of New World Indian (5)

CROSSWORD SOLUTION 21,310

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Orangeman stands defiantly in front of a

# Trimble under pressure to kee party united

Ian Mullin
Ireland Correspondent

ORANGEMEN are tonight expected to finalize contingency plans for scores of illegal ...des throughout North... Ireland next Sunday — a ...e which threatens to ...shadow the first meeting ...a assembly following last ...'s elections.

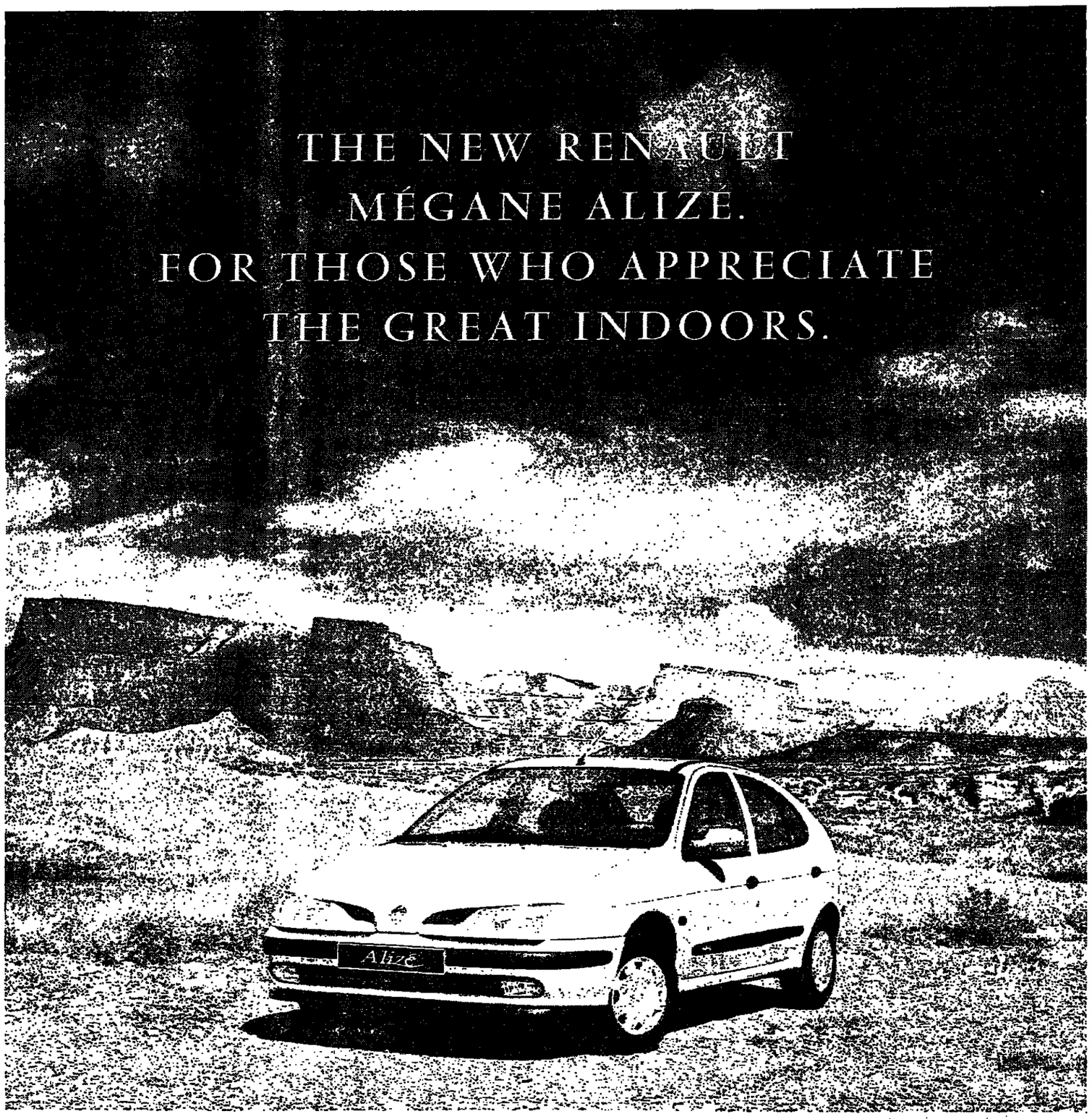
The assembly Wednesday, with... ble, leader of Unionists, ... to first minister.

The Orangemen ... the Parades Com... up to rule on ... marches, will ... Orange Order ... route, turning it ... nationalist Garv... The Parades C... refused to comm...

More than ... been drafted ...

Inside
Britain
Page ...

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